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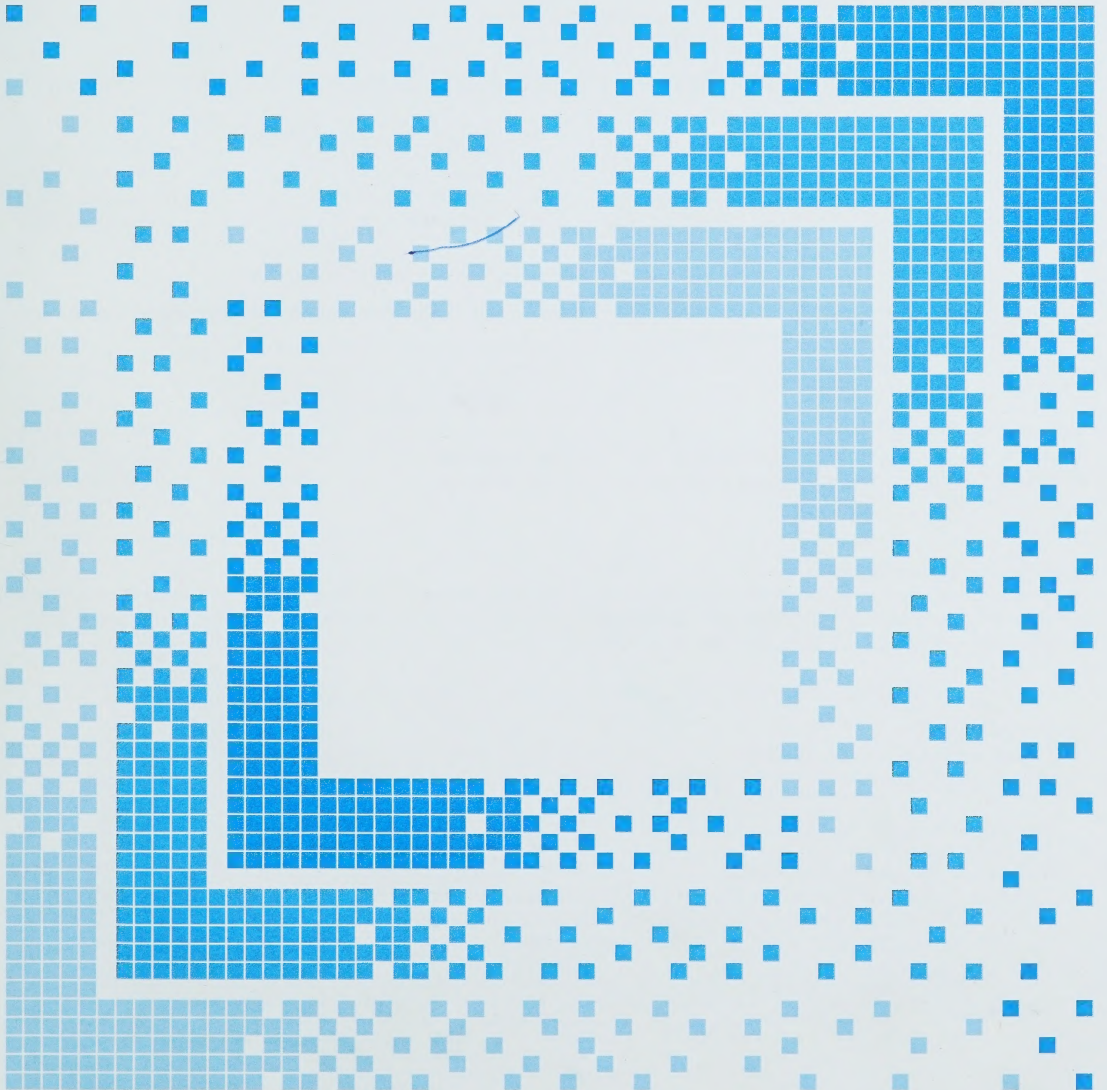
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General Social Survey

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As Time Goes By... Time Use of Canadians

General Social Survey

Judith A. Frederick

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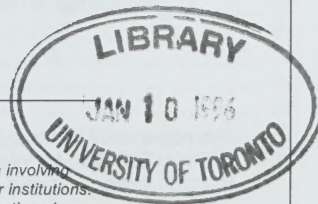
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METHODOLOGY

This report is based on time use data from Cycle 7 of the General Social Survey (GSS). It is one of a series of reports which are designed to present an overview of the range of data that are available from the GSS and also to stimulate interest for future analysis.

The 1992 General Social Survey on Time Use yielded a representative sample of about 9,000 respondents of the non-institutionalized population aged 15 and over in Canada's ten provinces. The telephone survey, conducted over the entire twelve months of 1992, employed the yesterday diary method to obtain 24-hour diary information on daily activities starting at 4:00 a.m.

The report was prepared by Judith Frederick, Senior Analyst, General Social Survey, Statistics Canada. The author wishes to thank Cheryl Sarazin, Mary Beth Lozinski, Colette Richard, Jennifer Rantz, Rémi Gélinas, Renée Saumure, Ann Trépanier and Rachel Penkar for their assistance in the preparation and distribution of this report. The author gratefully acknowledges the guidance of Douglas Norris, whose insightful comments and constant support were invaluable in preparing this report.

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Questions or comments pertaining to this report should be addressed to Judith Frederick, General Social Survey, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada, 7th Floor, Jean Talon Building, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0T6 or by calling (613) 951-0279. For information on how to order additional copies of this or other General Social Survey publications see the inside front cover.

INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1970s, there has been increasing interest among many countries in defining and measuring "the quality of life." The focus has shifted beyond the market to provide indicators of economic performance and social well-being to a more integrated view of human activities. New indicators are being developed based on the assumption that all work has value whether done for the market (paid work) or the non-market (unpaid work).

In the past, policy makers, in both the public and private sectors, have lacked information on a number of important social dimensions for input into the decision-making process. The 1992 General Social Survey on Time Use provides a rich and complex data source for answering many of these needs. This study, using the 1992 Time Use data base, explores some of the more important facets of Canadian life, from the time spent on activities like paid work, unpaid work, personal care and leisure time to the stresses inherent in balancing job, family and personal life. It examines the sharing of unpaid work among dual-earner families.

The demand to recognize and value household work in a national accounting sense (Clift and Wells, 1990)¹ has led Canada to pioneer efforts to value housework in monetary terms. Methodologies to value housework were initially developed in the mid-1970s and have been updated using time use surveys to produce estimates for 1961,² 1971,³ 1981,³ 1986⁴ and 1992.⁵

There are other important reasons to broaden the concept and measurement of work. In an editorial in the **Canadian Journal on Aging** entitled "Women, the Welfare State and Care-Giving," John Myles (1991) argues:

¹Barbara Clift and Stewart Wells, "The Reliability of the Canadian National Accounts Estimates," *Canadian Economic Observer*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-010, February 1990.

²Oli Hawrylyshyn, *Estimating the Value of Household Work in Canada, 1971*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 13-566, 1978.

³Janet L. Swinamer, "The Value of Household Work in Canada, 1981," *Canadian Statistical Review*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-003E, March 1985.

⁴Chris Jackson, "The Value of Household Work in Canada, 1986," *National Income and Expenditure Accounts*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 13-001, First Quarter 1992.

⁵William Chandler, "The Value of Household Work in Canada, 1992," *National Income and Expenditure Accounts*, Cat. No. 13-001, Fourth Quarter 1993.

INTRODUCTION

"In 1961, one-earner couples made up 65 per cent of all Canadian families. By 1986, one-earner couples accounted for just 12 per cent of all families. ... The economy and society as a whole obviously benefit from the additional labour time families put into the market and the pursuit of equality for women depends upon it. But as over a decade of research has shown, the costs to women are high. Women's "double day" of paid work and unpaid domestic labour is now a well-documented fact of modern life. Neither men nor public policy have changed to accommodate this new reality. The result is that the end of the 20th Century society faces a crisis of care-giving, a direct result of the "time crunch" that now characterizes the female life course."⁶

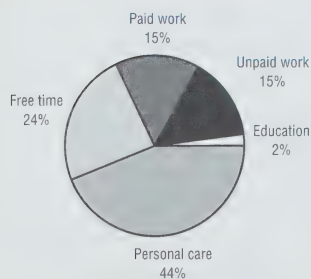
The collection of detailed information on both paid and unpaid work activities may be used to address the wide-ranging issues related to equality, care giving, and the more general concerns related to balancing family and paid work responsibilities.

Increased social concern has also been expressed for special groups or sub-populations, including students, employed mothers, lone parents and the elderly. Information on other activities is needed to support measurement and analysis in a broad range of endeavours including labour force analysis, measurement and valuation of household and child-care activities, and measurement of volunteer activity.

This study examines the activity patterns of distinct population cohorts for Canadians aged 15 and over. It explores the average day, broadly divided into paid work, unpaid work (household and family responsibilities), educational activities, personal care (sleeping, eating, washing, etc.), and the time remaining for leisure activities of selected sub-populations. It is important to note that while the work week is usually averaged over 5 days, averages for time use research are over a 7-day week.

Illustrated in Chart A is the importance of unpaid work in the life of Canadians. On average, about the same proportion of time was spent on unpaid work as on paid work (15% each). Just over 2% was spent on educational activities. Personal care consumed nearly 44% of the day, leaving nearly 24% for leisure. Of course, this level of analysis masks the real diversity found among various sub-populations.

Chart A
**Activities over an average day
by Canadians aged 15 and over**



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

As Table 1A shows, the average time allocated to each of these activities varied greatly depending on sex, age group, main activity, marital and child statuses, discrete dimensions, which combined, determine the various stages of at cycle for males and females.

Each dimension has implications for the amount of time spent on the selected major activities. Notably however, the amount of time consumed by personal care (meeting biological needs) was more inflexible than the average time allocated to other major activities over the various dimensions.

Analysis by the various dimensions, while quantifying the average time spent on various activities, leads to some fairly intuitive results. Examination by

⁶John Myles, "Women, the Welfare State and Care Giving," *Canadian Journal on Aging*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1991, pp. 82-85.

Table 1A
Average time¹ spent by the population aged 15 and over, by selected major activities, 1992

| | Paid work | Unpaid work | Education | Personal care | Leisure |
|-------------------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------|------------------|---------|
| Hours per day | | | | | |
| Both sexes | 3.6 | 3.6 | 0.6 | 10.5 | 5.7 |
| Males | 4.5 | 2.6 | 0.6 | 10.3 | 6.0 |
| Females | 2.7 | 4.5 | 0.6 | 10.8 | 5.5 |
| Age group | | | | | |
| 15-17 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 4.2 | 10.9 | 6.7 |
| 18-24 | 3.9 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 10.3 | 5.8 |
| 25-44 | 4.8 | 4.0 | 0.2 | 10.2 | 4.8 |
| 45-64 | 3.7 | 3.8 | 0.1 | 10.5 | 5.9 |
| 65 and over | 0.4 | 4.1 | 0.0 | 11.7 | 7.7 |
| Main activity | | | | | |
| Full-time | 6.4 | 2.8 | 0.1 | 10.0 | 4.7 |
| Part-time | 3.0 | 4.7 | 0.2 | 10.5 | 5.4 |
| Students | 0.9 | 1.4 | 5.6 | 10.4 | 5.6 |
| Not employed | 0.2 | 5.1 | 0.1 | 11.3 | 7.4 |
| Marital status | | | | | |
| Married | 3.8 | 4.2 | 0.2 | 10.5 | 5.3 |
| Unmarried | 3.1 | 2.6 | 1.3 | 10.6 | 6.4 |
| Child status | | | | | |
| Child(ren) under age 19 | 4.3 | 4.8 | 0.2 | 10.2 | 4.6 |
| No child(ren) under age 19 | 3.2 | 3.0 | 0.8 | 10.7 | 6.3 |

¹Averaged over a 7-day week.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

sex shows that men averaged more time at paid work (4.5 hours a day) than women (2.7 hours a day), and women, reciprocally spent more time at unpaid work (4.5 hours a day) than men (2.6 hours a day).

Among age groups, individuals aged 25 to 44 had the busiest days, averaging 4.8 hours per day at paid work and an additional 4.0 hours per day at unpaid work. Youths aged 15 to 17 spent the most time on educational activities (4.2 hours a day).

Examination by main activity revealed that employed individuals performed less unpaid work than the non-employed, but the trade off between hours spent at paid work and unpaid work was not quid pro quo. Full-time employed individuals spent the least amount of time on personal care (primarily sleep) and leisure.

The data also reveal that married individuals spent more time on paid and unpaid work, and consequently, had less time for leisure activities than unmarried individuals. Not surprisingly, child status had a similar impact as marital status. Parents spent significantly more time on paid work and unpaid

work than non-parents, resulting in much less time for leisure. Non-parents, of course, are largely composed of students and the retired population. It is only when the various dimensions are combined that more meaningful analysis of human behaviour can be carried out.

Table 1A substantiates earlier research by Andrew S. Harvey,⁷ who found a number of demographic variables to be significant factors in determining daily behaviour patterns. While each of these dimensions can be studied individually, it is more meaningful to combine the relevant dimensions that make up the various roles that individuals play over the life cycle. Main activity, sex, marital status, child status, and for seniors, living arrangements, were the principal determinants of daily activities. For this study, role groups have been created based on these characteristics. Because the values for many demographic variables are affected by the period in which the respondent was born, cohorts have also been classified by age group.

More specifically, population cohorts have been grouped by sex into four broad age categories: youths, 15 to 24; baby boomers, 25 to 44; mid-agers, 45 to 64; and seniors, 65 and over. As previously noted, it is important to take into account the diversity of roles within age cohorts as overall averages by age group may not be particularly meaningful. Some groups of interest have had to be excluded due to restricted sample sizes, for example, lone-parent fathers. For ease of reference, the role groups are defined in Table 1B.

The behaviour of these role groups within each age cohort is examined in this study. It explores how Canadians cope with their increasingly complex and conflicting roles throughout the life cycle by changing their behaviour. It examines the stresses this creates.

It has become increasingly important for students to obtain a postsecondary degree or diploma in order to find a job. In Chapter 1, the amount of time students devote to their studies, job, and spend socializing are examined. The stresses of high school and postsecondary students are contrasted. As well, the change in daily activities as they enter the labour market is documented.

Chapter 2 explores the lives of the looming demographic bulge, the baby boomers in their "struggle to juggle." The coping strategies of men and women are contrasted with the advent of marriage and children. The impact on family life of the influx of women into the labour force is explored.

Chapter 3 looks at the transitional stage, the post-parental and pre-retirement years from 45 to 64. The effect on the lives of mid-agers created by an empty(ing) nest and the transition to non-employment are studied.

The lives of seniors aged 65 and over are explored in Chapter 4. The unpaid work they continue to do and the way they cope with increasing age are documented.

⁷Andrew S. Harvey, Katherine Marshall and Judith A. Frederick, *Where Does Time Go?*, General Social Survey Analysis Series, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-612E, No. 4.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the changing roles, behaviours and time stresses over the life course — as a student, becoming employed, getting married, having children and reaching retirement. It documents the gender gap in the time spent on selected activities and chronicles the ebb and flow of the time crunch.

Table 1B
Definition of population cohorts aged 15 and over

| Marital status | Main activity | Gender | Sample size males/ females |
|---|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Youths, 15-24 | | | |
| 15-17 | | | |
| Unmarried ¹ | Students | Males/Females | 191/203 |
| 18-24 | | | |
| Unmarried | Students | Males/Females | 158/106 |
| Unmarried | Employed, full-time ² | Males/Females | 196/149 |
| Baby boomers, 25-44 | | | |
| No child(ren) under age 19 | | | |
| Unmarried | Employed, full-time | Males/Females | 399/198 |
| Married ³ | Employed, full-time | Males/Females | 282/217 |
| Child(ren) under age 19 ⁴ | | | |
| Unmarried | Employed, full-time | Females ⁵ | /90 |
| Unmarried | Not employed ⁶ | Females | /62 |
| Married | Employed, full-time | Males/Females | 910/508 |
| Married | Employed, part-time ⁷ | Females | /197 |
| Married | Not employed | Females | /401 |
| Mid-agers, 45-64 | | | |
| Married | Employed, full-time | Males/Females | 404/213 |
| Married | Not employed | Males/Females | 204/392 |
| Unmarried | Employed, full-time | Males/Females | 104/115 |
| Unmarried | Not employed | Males/Females | 56/112 |
| Seniors, 65 and over, not employed | | | |
| Married | | Males/Females | 315/310 |
| Unmarried (lives alone) | | Males/Females | 108/289 |
| Unmarried (lives with others) | | Females | /75 |

¹Includes single (never-married), widowed, separated or divorced. Other terms used in this publication include unmarried and unattached.

²Employed for 30 hours or more a week.

³Includes married and cohabiting couples.

⁴Unmarried child(ren) under age 19, living at home.

⁵Insufficient sample size for males.

⁶Includes homemakers, individuals looking for work, retired and others.

⁷Employed for less than 30 hours a week.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

CHAPTER 1

COMING OF AGE, YOUTHS, 15 TO 24

In 1992, Canadian youths aged 15 to 24 represented 18% of the Canadian population aged 15 and over. Today's youth belong to the "baby bust" generation, the product of a birth rate that dropped rapidly during the latter 1960s. Their lives have been overshadowed by the cultural, political and economic influences of the boomers (born approximately between the years 1946 and 1964). The modest size of the youth population has had direct ramifications on their career aspirations, their place in society and their educational experience.

Youths, coming of age today, will likely live longer, healthier and more active lives than any previous generation with new information on nutrition, exercise, stress management and continuing medical breakthroughs. They are a highly educated age cohort. Many have stayed at or returned to school because of bleak employment opportunities. Education will continue to be an ongoing process in their lives as our knowledge-based society becomes increasingly more pervasive. Recent rapid changes in the social, economic and technological environments will have important consequences for their lives. Their life experiences will be radically different from that of their parents.

This chapter examines the daily behaviour of the youth population aged 15 to 24 and documents changes in activity patterns as they come of age. It also explores the stresses involved in trying to balance education, work and personal lives.

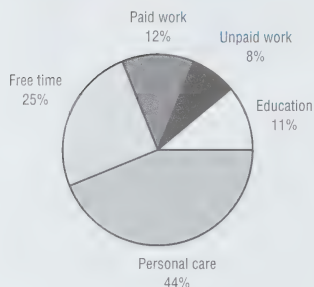
Demographic profile

Youths aged 15 to 24 are stratified based on gender, marital status and main activity. Younger students in the age group 15 to 17 were distinguished from older students aged 18 to 24 to differentiate high school students from postsecondary students. Most teens aged 15 to 17 were still in high school and lived with their parents. Due to sample constraints only students were analysed among this younger age group. Among the 18- to 24-year-olds, students and the full-time employed were delineated. Briefly, behaviour patterns for three youth cohorts — unmarried students aged 15 to 17, unmarried students aged 18 to 24 and unmarried, full-time employed youths — were analysed by gender. Sample sizes for other youth cohorts were not sufficient to provide meaningful analysis.

CHAPTER 1

Chart 1.1

Activities over an average day by youths aged 15-24



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

An average day for youths

Among youths aged 15 to 24, nearly one-third of their day was spent on total work (defined as education, paid work and unpaid work). About 11% was spent on educational activities, 12% on paid work, and 8% on unpaid work (household chores). Approximately 44% of the day was taken up meeting personal care needs (eating, sleeping, etc.). One-quarter of the day remained for leisure or free time activities. (Chart 1.1)

The following analysis uses the previously defined youth groups to examine the daily behaviour of this population cohort.

Personal care

Among youth groups, comparable male and female cohorts allocate similar amounts of time to meeting biological needs (sleeping, meals, washing, dressing, etc.). Allocation to the type of personal care varied however.

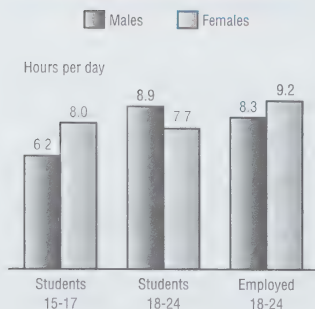
Younger students spent the most time sleeping; young men slept 8.8 hours and young women 8.4 hours a night. Older students and employed youth slept approximately 8.0 hours a day. Youths spent about 1.0 hours a day on meals and an additional hour on "other" personal care. (Table 1.1)

Total work¹

Among the youth, employed females did the most work (total work includes paid work, unpaid work and education) (9.2 hours a day), but work days of older male students were nearly as long (8.9 hours). Younger male students enjoyed the shortest work days (6.2 hours a day), while the work days of the remaining youth cohorts averaged about 8.0 hours a day. (Chart 1.2)

Chart 1.2

Average time spent on total work activities¹ by youths aged 15-24



¹Includes time spent on paid and unpaid work, and educational activities.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

¹See Appendix A for discussion of the criterion and limitations of total work activities.

Table 1.1

Average time spent on personal care activities by youths aged 15-24

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| | 15-17 Students | 18-24 Students | 18-24 Employed full-time | 15-17 Students | 18-24 Students | 18-24 Employed full-time |
| Hours per day | | | | | | |
| Sleep | 8.8 | 7.9 | 8.0 | 8.4 | 8.3 | 7.9 |
| Meals | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| Other | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.4 |
| Total* | 10.7 | 9.9 | 10.0 | 10.8 | 10.0 | 10.1 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

A difference of nearly 2.0 hours a day was evident in total work between male and female high school students. Young females aged 15 to 17 averaged 8.0 hours, compared with 6.2 hours for similar males. Most of the difference was in time spent on educational activities; these females averaged fully 1.0 hours more than their male counterparts (5.8 hours vs. 4.8 hours a day). Young females aged 15 to 17, however, spent more time on all components of total work. (Table 1.2)

Yet, among students aged 18 to 24 total work activities for males surpassed those of their female counterparts. Postsecondary male students spent 8.9 hours a day at productive work, compared with 7.7 hours for comparable females. Male students aged 18 to 24 spent 1.5 hours more on educational activities than they did as high school students. Females spent 1.0 hours less.

The difference in the amount of time spent working reversed between employed youths aged 18 to 24. Employed females spent almost 1.0 hours more (9.2 hours a day) on total work than employed males (8.3 hours a day). Employed males averaged 0.6 hours less work each day with the transition from school, while employed females spent 1.5 hours a day more. Yet, whether students or full-time wage-earners, young females spent more time on unpaid work than comparable males.

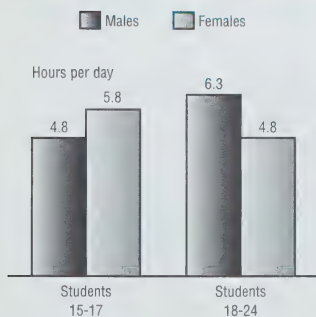
Education

Of students aged 15 to 17, females averaged 5.8 hours a day on educational activities, compared with 4.8 hours a day for males. The difference reversed for students aged 18 to 24, however. Of these students, males increased their time spent on educational activities by 1.5 hours, while female students averaged 1.0 hours less. Male students aged 18 to 24 allocated 1.5 hours more a day on school work than their female cohort, in contrast to spending 1.0 hours a day less as teenagers. (Chart 1.3)

Part of the difference in the amount of time spent on educational activities among older students may relate to differences in level as well as their field of study.

Chart 1.3

Average time spent on educational activities by students aged 15-24



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Table 1.2

Average time spent on total work and education by youths aged 15-24

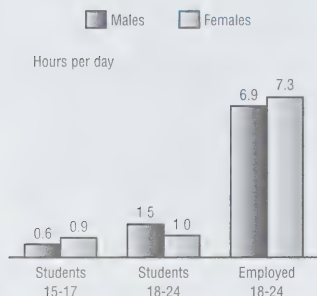
| | Males | | | Females | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| | 15-17 Students | 18-24 Students | 18-24 Employed full-time | 15-17 Students | 18-24 Students | 18-24 Employed full-time |
| | Hours per day | | | | | |
| Paid | 0.6 | 1.5 | 6.9 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 7.3 |
| Unpaid | 0.8 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 1.7 |
| Education | 4.8 | 6.3 | 0.1 | 5.8 | 4.8 | 0.2 |
| Total* | 6.2 | 8.9 | 8.3 | 8.0 | 7.7 | 9.2 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 1.4

Average time spent on paid work and related activities¹ by youths aged 15-24



¹Related activities include commuting time and other activities related to paid work.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Gender-based differences persist. Among university graduates aged 20 to 24, Kerr, Larrivée and Greenhalgh found:

*"...young women outnumber young men by a ratio of more than 3 to 1 in the education category, and to a slightly lesser degree in 'health professions'. On the other hand, young men outnumber young women by a ratio of over 4 to 1 in the 'engineering and applied science' category."*²

A similar pattern existed for youths who have graduated from other types of postsecondary institutions. Although not measured, the fields dominated by male students may require more time spent in classrooms and labs.

Paid work and related activities

Of high school students, females spent 0.9 hours a day on paid work, compared with 0.6 hours a day for young males. However, postsecondary males more than doubled their time spent at paid work (1.5 hours a day), while female students spent virtually the same amount of time (1.0 hours a day). Full-time employed females worked slightly longer at paid work than their male cohort (7.3 hours vs. 6.9 hours a day, respectively), a difference of nearly 3.0 hours a week. (Chart 1.4)

Interestingly, only full-time employed women aged 18 to 24 worked longer hours at paid work than comparable men. In older age groups, where the burden of family work is greater, women have less time available for paid work since they continue to carry the major responsibility for household and family chores.

Unpaid work

Do household chores remain sexually segregated, even among the youth? Are young women expected to do more of the "traditionally female" chores around the house? If we are going to see a change in gender-driven attitudes to work in the near future, gender differences in unpaid work should not be obvious.

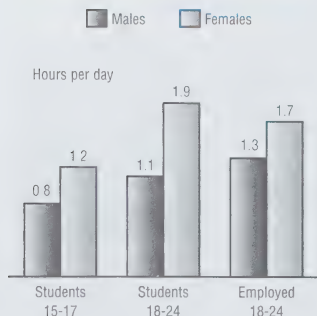
However, even among the baby busters, unpaid work appears gender-based. Young women did more unpaid work than young men and spent more time on the "traditionally female" chores such as cooking and housekeeping. Young men reported more maintenance and repair work. Female high school students spent 1.2 hours a day on household chores and volunteer work, nearly 0.5 hours more than comparable males, each day.

The difference was greater between students aged 18 to 24, but both sexes increased the time spent on unpaid work. These young women spent almost 2.0 hours a day on household chores, nearly three-quarters of an hour more each day than comparable men.

The difference fell to less than 0.5 hours a day for full-time employed baby busters. Full-time employed young women spent 1.7 hours a day on unpaid work, compared with 1.3 hours a day for similar men. (Chart 1.5)

Chart 1.5

Average time spent on unpaid work activities¹ by youths aged 15-24



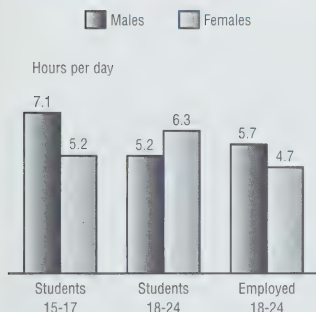
¹Comprises household chores, family care, shopping and volunteer work.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

²Don Kerr, Daniel Larrivée and Patricia Greenhalgh, *Children and Youth: An Overview*, (Focus on Canada series), Statistics Canada Catalogue 96-320E, 1994, p. 37.

Chart 1.6

Average time spent on leisure activities by youths aged 15-24



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

The data indicate that the narrowing of the difference is due to the increase in unpaid work for young men who have moved out of the family home. About 37% of full-time employed youths are living on their own. Young men, on their own, spent one hour more on unpaid work (1.9 hours a day), than those who remain with their parent(s). In contrast, young women spent about the same amount of time (1.6 hours a day) regardless of their living arrangements.

Leisure time

Young male students aged 15 to 17 had more leisure time than other youth groups (7.1 hours a day). Leisure time dropped to 5.2 hours a day for older male students aged 18 to 24. A different pattern for female youths was evident. Leisure time was highest (6.3 hours a day) for older female students 18 to 24 and averaged about 5.0 hours a day for other female youths. Among most groups in the Canadian population aged 15 and over, women experienced less leisure time than men. Postsecondary students are the only cohort in which the difference in leisure time favoured women. (Chart 1.6)

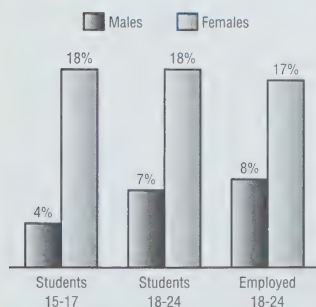
Young male students aged 15 to 17 spent more time on passive leisure (watching television, reading and listening to music), and more time on active leisure than other students. They spent a similar amount of time socializing as other youths. Older female students aged 18 to 24 spent the most time socializing. As previously noted, full-time employed, young women had the least amount of leisure time, but they allocated about the same time to socializing activities as other youths. (Table 1.3)

Time crunch

Female youths (18%) were more than twice as likely to be highly time stressed (defined as responding affirmatively to seven or more questions on the perception of time, see Table 1.4) as their male counterparts (less than 8%). Male students aged 15 to 17 were the least time crunched group among the youth. (Chart 1.7)

Chart 1.7

Percentage of youths aged 15-24 who were highly time crunched



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Table 1.3

Average time spent on leisure activities by youths aged 15-24

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| | 15-17 Students | 18-24 Students | 18-24 Employed full-time | 15-17 Students | 18-24 Students | 18-24 Employed full-time |
| Hours per day | | | | | | |
| Socializing | 1.9 | 1.8 | 2.4 | 1.9 | 2.8 | 2.1 |
| Passive leisure | 3.0 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 1.8 |
| Active leisure | 2.3 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 0.8 |
| Total* | 7.1 | 5.2 | 5.7 | 5.2 | 6.3 | 4.7 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Not surprisingly, given their lifestyle and the scheduling demands of exams and essays, Canadian youths aged 15 to 24 reported a high propensity to cut back on sleep when they needed more time. Almost as many youths reported they often felt under stress when they did not have enough time. (Table 1.4)

More than 40% of female youths agreed they often felt that they had not *"accomplished what they had set out to do at the end of the day,"* that they *"did not spend enough time with family or friends,"* *"were constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than they could handle,"* and also *"felt trapped in a daily routine."* Rates for male youth were lower than for females for these questions.

Table 1.4
Responses to questions on perception of time by youths aged 15-24

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| | 15-17 Students | 18-24 Students | 18-24 Employed full-time | 15-17 Students | 18-24 Students | 18-24 Employed full-time |
| | % responding affirmatively | | | | | |
| 1. Do you plan to slow down in the coming year? | 8 | 7 | 19 | 13 | 13 | 23 |
| 2. Do you consider yourself a workaholic? | 13 | 20 | 25 | 21 | 19 | 24 |
| 3. When you need more time, do you tend to cut back on your sleep? | 49 | 63 | 66 | 67 | 71 | 56 |
| 4. At the end of the day, do you often feel that you have not accomplished what you had set out to do? | 35 | 49 | 39 | 48 | 60 | 43 |
| 5. Do you worry that you don't spend enough time with your family or friends? | 21 | 31 | 31 | 46 | 40 | 41 |
| 6. Do you feel that you're constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than you can handle? | 28 | 40 | 30 | 47 | 47 | 41 |
| 7. Do you feel trapped in a daily routine? | 31 | 38 | 38 | 45 | 43 | 48 |
| 8. Do you feel that you just don't have time for fun anymore? | 15 | 30 | 24 | 32 | 25 | 32 |
| 9. Do you often feel under stress when you don't have enough time? | 47 | 62 | 54 | 56 | 64 | 60 |
| 10. Would you like to spend more time alone? | 16 | 18 | 23 | 25 | 26 | 24 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Not having time for fun anymore, wanting to spend more time alone and being a workaholic are not as problematic for Canadian youth. About 25% of youths concurred. Fewer planned to slow down in the coming year (about 15%).

Clearly, balancing the demands of jobs, school and personal life are stressful for Canadian youth. The time crunch is much higher among postsecondary students than high school students or employed youth. The stress placed on undergraduate students confirms earlier research on the quality of student life by Michael Benjamin.

"Undergraduate students lead complex lives. They struggle to meet the academic requirements of their program of study, while simultaneously coping with competing demands of parents, friends, romantic partners, employers and others. They may further confront acute and/or chronic problems with health and finances as well as unexpected life events."³

The findings suggest that the "struggle to juggle" is not limited to the baby boom generation.

Discussion

The pattern of activities for young males aged 15 to 17 is quite different from similar females. Male high school students spent less time on educational activities, less time at paid work and also less time on unpaid work than their female counterparts. They enjoyed the most leisure time among the youth, dividing the added time equally to passive and active leisure activities. They spent a similar amount of time socializing as other students. They are the least time-stressed cohort among the youth.

The story is different for postsecondary youths. Male students aged 18 to 24 spent more time on productive activities than similar female students. These males spent more time on educational activities and paid work but female students spent more time on unpaid work. In contrast to every other cohort, more leisure time remained for female students aged 18 to 24 than comparable males. While young males commonly spent their additional leisure time on passive activities such as television, female students aged 18 to 24 spent the additional time on socializing activities. With the transition to full-time employment, young women spent more time at each component of total work than comparable men and had less leisure time.

Despite the anecdotal evidence, the data show that gender-driven behaviour patterns persist among the youth. A strong difference by sex is revealed in the amount of time spent on educational activities, unpaid work and the time remaining for leisure. While employed young women spent more time at paid work than similar men, the future responsibilities of home and family will almost inevitably reverse this phenomenon.

Some change has taken place. Young females are equally as likely as their male counterparts to obtain a postsecondary degree or diploma. It is likely they anticipate employment to be a major factor in their lives and desire meaningful

³Michael Benjamin, "The Quality of Student Life: Toward a Coherent Conceptualization," *Social Indicators Research*, Vol. 31, No. 3, March 1994, p. 248.

employment along with economic independence. Unlike mid-aged women who were more likely to have raised their children in a one-earner family, the typical role model for today's young women is the boomer wife in a dual-earner family or the independent career woman. When young women marry, they can expect to combine family responsibilities with employment.

Today's youths are coming of age in an increasingly complex and technological world. The principal constant is change. How do you prepare for a career in such a world? Some futurists suggest the careers of today's youth will be more diversified than the typical career of today's mid-agers. They foresee periods of employment interspersed with periods of unemployment and further training.

Economists speak of the jobless recovery and the "lights-out" factory. Current technology tends to increase productivity, which translates into more output per worker, but requires fewer workers for the same output. The looming questions confronting today's society, and impacting most strongly on the youth, involve how to share the shrinking number of jobs and how to distribute income if it can no longer be tied to jobs.

CHAPTER 2

THE STRUGGLE TO JUGGLE, BABY BOOMERS, 25 TO 44

This chapter focuses on the group in Canadian society facing the biggest challenges in balancing job, family and community responsibilities, the career-building, childbearing and childrearing, baby boomers aged 25 to 44.¹

It starts with a brief discussion of the demographic profile of baby boomers. It examines the impact of sentinel events in a boomer's life, for example, entering/exiting the work force, marriage, divorce and children. It discusses the high cost of combining jobs and children especially for women who still carry the primary responsibility for family work. Many boomer women interrupt their paid work lives to look after children. They work part-time or stay in jobs that do not require travel or long hours to allow them to care for their young children after school. It examines how the employment status of the wife affects the behaviour of husbands. Do men take on more of the home chores when their wives are employed?

In addition to patterns of time use, this analysis also assesses the implications of the perception of time findings. It explores the time crunch created by combining job and family responsibilities for men and women. Who are the most time-stressed boomers? It concludes with a discussion on some of the findings and raises some questions about adjustments which might be beneficial to alleviating the stresses of combining job and family.

Demographic profile of boomers

In 1992, the baby boom population numbered almost 9.1 million. They made up 42.6% of the Canadian population aged 15 and over, and consequently, had a strong influence over social, cultural and economic trends.

The boomers are more highly educated than previous generations; 46% had completed a university degree, college certificate or diploma, 47% of boomer men and 44% of boomer women.

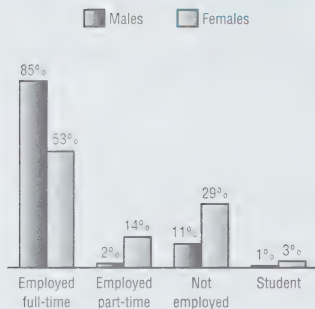
Approximately three-quarters of boomers were married or cohabiting, more than 60% had children under age 15, and nearly one-third had children under age 6. Almost 20% had never married, more men (22%) than women (15%).

¹It is recognized that, strictly speaking, 25- to 28-year-olds in 1992 were part of the baby bust generation.

CHAPTER 2

Chart 2.1

Main activity of baby boomers aged 25-44, by labour force status



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Boomers have the highest household income of the age cohorts, primarily because they have the highest proportion of dual-earner families. More than 60% of boomer couples were dual-earner families. Of the population reporting income, nearly 30% reported incomes of \$60,000 and over. Significant gender differences were evident in employment rates, about 87% of men and 67% of women were employed. Approximately 53% of baby boom women were employed full-time, and 14% employed part-time. Nearly 30% of boomer women were not in the paid labour force but were working full-time at home. (Chart 2.1)

Baby boom cohorts

Main activity, gender, marital and child statuses were all important variables in determining the behaviour of the baby boom generation. The baby boom role groups were constructed using a two-way split of characteristics: male/female; married/unmarried; parents/non-parents, and employed/non-employed. Sixteen boomer cohorts were identified. However, the sample size for some cohorts was not sufficient for meaningful analysis. For example, there were too few part-time or non-employed males in this age group and too few lone-parent fathers to analyse separately. (About 12% of boomer men and 13% of boomer women have not been included in the analysis because they did not correspond to the delineated cohorts or their cohort was not of sufficient sample size.) In all, ten boomer groups were analysed.

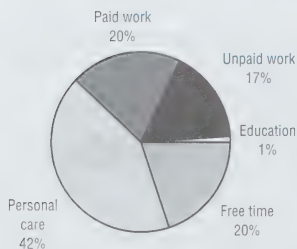
In order to simplify the analysis of the various boomer cohorts, the aggregate activities of full-time employed boomers are examined first, and subsequently, activities for all boomers with children. Children were a significant factor in determining the labour force status of women, but not of men.

An average day for baby boomers

Baby boomers spent nearly 38% of their day on productive activities (defined as paid work plus unpaid work and education). About 20% was spent on paid work, 17% on unpaid work (household chores) and 1% on educational activities. Personal maintenance (eating, sleeping, etc.) consumed about 42%. Twenty percent of the day remained for leisure or free time activities. This aggregate level of analysis, however, conceals the variation and the parallels found among various boomer cohorts which are examined in the rest of the chapter. (Chart 2.2)

Chart 2.2

Activities over an average day by baby boomers aged 25-44



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Personal care

Boomer women spent slightly more time meeting biological needs (sleeping, eating, washing and dressing) than boomer men. Physiologically, women need more sleep than men, especially in their prime childbearing years. Personal care requirements limit the time available for other activities.

Boomer men, regardless of family status, spent virtually the same amount of time on personal care (about 9.8 hours a day). However, unmarried men spent slightly more time sleeping and slightly less time on meals. The presence of children had no effect on the average time that married men spent sleeping or on meals. (Table 2.1)

Table 2.1

Average time spent on personal care activities by baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|--------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married fathers | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married mothers |
| | Hours per day | | | | | |
| Sleep | 7.8 | 7.6 | 7.6 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 7.9 |
| Meals | 0.9 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 |
| Other | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.1 |
| Total | 9.7 | 9.8 | 9.7 | 10.4 | 10.5 | 10.1 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Boomer women spent more time on personal care than comparable men. They slept for a longer period of time and spent slightly more time on "other" personal maintenance. Even though full-time employed mothers may have needed more sleep than similar women without children, these mothers got less sleep. Parents of young children may also suffer from child-related sleep interruptions that are not captured by the diary. Their average sleep time may be even lower than reported.

Total work²

Total work (paid work plus unpaid work and education) escalated with increasing role responsibility. Interestingly, corresponding gender cohorts put in similarly long hours. The smallest difference was between childless married women and men (0.1 hours a day), and the largest between married parents (0.4 hours a day). (Chart 2.3)

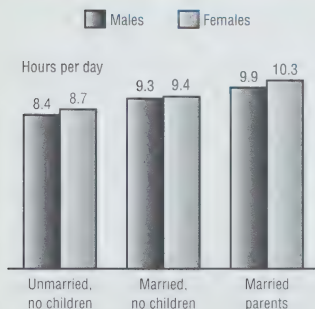
Unmarried boomer men and women worked similar hours (approximately 8.5 hours a day), but the men worked about 1.0 hours a day longer at paid work and the women about 1.0 hours a day longer at unpaid work. (Table 2.2)

Married men and women spent nearly an hour more each day on total work than their unmarried counterparts. Contrary to expectations, married women averaged slightly less time at unpaid work than unmarried women but spent almost one hour more each day on paid work. In contrast, married men spent more time on unpaid work and at paid work. As a result, married boomer men and women averaged similar times at paid work (approximately 7.0 hours a day) and unpaid work (2.0 hours).

Another sentinel event, the arrival of children, also increased the total work burden for full-time employed parents. Even though both parents cut back on paid work and increased their unpaid work, the presence of children brought a more gendered division of work. Fathers averaged 6.6 hours a day at paid work and 3.2 hours on home chores, while mothers reduced paid work to about

Chart 2.3

Average time spent on total work activities¹ by baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time, by family status



¹Includes time spent on paid and unpaid work, and educational activities.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

²See Appendix A for discussion of the criterion and limitations of total work activities.

Table 2.2

Average time spent on total work activities by baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married fathers | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married mothers |
| Hours per day | | | | | | |
| Paid | 6.9 | 7.1 | 6.6 | 5.9 | 6.8 | 5.3 |
| Unpaid | 1.5 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 2.4 | 4.8 |
| Education | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Total* | 8.4 | 9.3 | 9.9 | 8.7 | 9.4 | 10.3 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

5.0 hours a day to meet a similar time demand at home. Total work was 0.6 hours less for part-time employed, married mothers, and 2.1 hours less for non-employed, married mothers. Total work of lone-parent mothers followed a similar pattern. Non-employed, lone-parent mothers had shorter work days. (Chart 2.4)

Children had a greater impact on the lives of boomer women than on their male counterparts. Women greatly increased the length of their work days and/or adjusted their labour force status in order to cope with the increased work load. Nonetheless, the combination of job, marriage and children created a heavy work load (and time crunch) for both parents. Full-time employed, married mothers averaged 10.3 hours a day, while their partners shouldered a similar burden, 9.9 hours a day. The days of full-time employed, lone-parent mothers and part-time employed, married mothers were scarcely shorter (about 9.6 hours a day). In order to cope with family responsibilities, some mothers interrupted paid work. Non-employed mothers averaged 8.2 hours a day on total work, if married, and slightly less (7.6 hours a day) if unmarried. (Table 2.3)

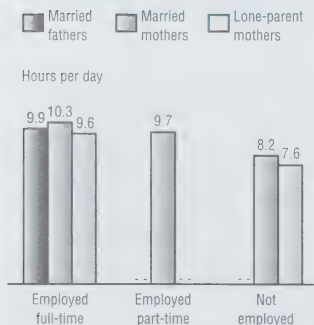
The data highlight the radical adjustments made by women with the advent of children and confirm earlier research, which "point to childbirth rather than marriage as the factor that produces the greatest change in a woman's life and work."³ In contrast, while marriage and children added to the length of their work day, there was very little change in the work day of boomer men. They continued to spend virtually the same amount of time pursuing paid work, which may have limited their ability to supplement unpaid work.

Paid work and related activities⁴

Historically, men have "met" their familial obligations with paid work, while family nurturing and household chores were the responsibility of women. However, over the last four decades, women have dramatically increased their labour force participation, and typically, women share the financial burden. Nevertheless,

Chart 2.4

Average time spent on total work activities¹ by baby boom parents aged 25-44, by labour force status



¹Includes time spent on paid and unpaid work, and educational activities.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

³Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1989, p. 91.

⁴See Appendix B for list of inclusions in paid work and related activities.

Table 2.3

Average time spent on total work activities by baby boom parents aged 25-44

| | Employed full-time | | | Employed part-time | Not employed | |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | Married fathers | Married mothers | Lone-parent mothers | Married mothers | Married mothers | Lone-parent mothers |
| | Hours per day | | | | | |
| Paid | 6.6 | 5.3 | 5.2 | 2.5 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Unpaid | 3.2 | 4.8 | 4.3 | 7.0 | 7.9 | 7.5 |
| Education | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.0 |
| Total* | 9.9 | 10.3 | 9.6 | 9.7 | 8.2 | 7.6 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

women retain the primary responsibility for unpaid family work. Some women, with the advent of children, limit or interrupt paid work. Overall, boomer women averaged 25.0 hours a week in paid work and related activities, 17.0 hours a week less than boomer men (42.0 hours). However, greater similarities exist between similar cohorts.

Among full-time employed boomers, unmarried males spent 6.9 hours a day (48.3 hours a week) at paid work and related activities, while their female counterparts averaged 5.9 hours a day (41.5 hours a week). With marriage, male boomers increased the time spent at paid work just 3% (49.8 hours a week), and comparable females increased their time by 15% (47.6 hours a week). Married boomer men and women without children allocated the most time to paid work. (Chart 2.5)

The data show the decline in the amount of time mothers spent at waged work in order to cope with the increased household demands created by children. Even when employed full-time, mothers averaged more than 9.0 hours less a week than fathers, a major change from the more equal sharing of paid work among married boomers without children. About 14% of married mothers were employed part-time, while about 30% worked full-time at unpaid work in the home.

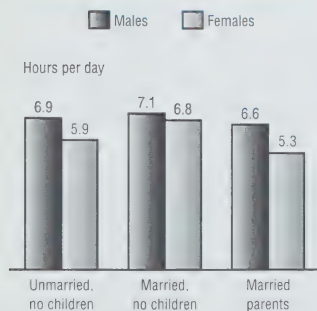
Unpaid work

The data reveal a significant difference in unpaid work. Baby boom women contributed twice the hours to unpaid work (37.1 hours a week) of men.

The pattern for unpaid work changed differently with increased role complexity between baby boom men and women. Full-time employed, unmarried females averaged 2.6 hours a day at unpaid work, about 1.0 hours more than their male counterparts. Surprisingly, women did not increase the time spent on unpaid work with marriage, while men spent about 0.5 hours more. Husbands and wives without children had the most equal contribution to unpaid work among boomer cohorts. Yet, women continued to do more cooking and cleaning, the deadline chores, and men more maintenance and repair. (Table 2.4)

Chart 2.5

Average time spent on paid work and related activities¹ by baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time, by family status



¹Related activities include commuting time and other activities related to paid work.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Table 2.4

Average time spent on unpaid work activities by baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time

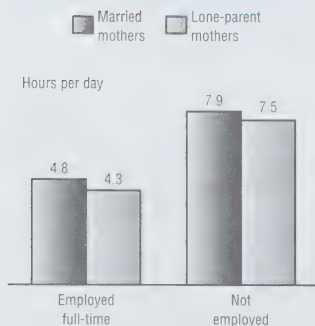
| | Males | | | Females | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married fathers | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married mothers |
| Hours per day | | | | | | |
| Cooking | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| Housekeeping | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 1.0 |
| Maintenance/ repairs | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- |
| Other | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Shopping | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.8 |
| Child care | -- | -- | 0.9 | -- | -- | 1.3 |
| Volunteer | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Total* | 1.5 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 2.4 | 4.8 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 2.6

Average time spent on unpaid work activities¹ by baby boom mothers aged 25-44, by marital and labour force statuses



¹Comprises households chores, family care, shopping and volunteer work.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

With the arrival of children, time spent on household chores doubled for full-time employed mothers (to 4.8 hours a day), but rose more moderately for comparable men (to 3.2 hours a day). For full-time employed parents, the gap in unpaid work jumped to 1.6 hours a day. Children had an explosive effect on home chores for mothers. Not only was child care added to the list of tasks, but mothers also spent more time cooking, cleaning and shopping. In contrast, the increase in unpaid work for fathers was almost exclusively child care.

Among parental cohorts, full-time employed fathers spent the least amount of time on unpaid work (3.2 hours a day), while comparable mothers contributed almost 5.0 hours a day. Full-time employed, lone-parent mothers spent 0.5 hours a day less on unpaid work than mothers who had partners to share the household work. Employed, lone-parent mothers spent less time on cooking and housekeeping chores and on child care than partnered mothers. The children of employed, lone-parent mothers are fewer and older, on average, than partnered mothers. (Table 2.5)

A similar disparity appeared between non-employed mothers. The daily unpaid work burden of non-employed, lone-parent mothers was 0.4 hours less than similar partnered mothers. These lone-parent mothers spent more time on child care, but less time shopping and cooking than their married counterparts. (Chart 2.6)

How do full-time employed, married mothers cope? Obviously they have less time available than non-employed mothers to do the unpaid work at home. They spend less time cooking and cleaning up (-0.6 hours a day), less time on

Table 2.5
Average time spent on unpaid work activities by baby boom parents aged 25-44

| | Employed full-time | | | Employed part-time | Not employed | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | Married fathers | Married mothers | Lone-parent mothers | Married mothers | Married mothers | Lone-parent mothers |
| | Hours per day | | | | | |
| Cooking | 0.4 | 1.2 | 0.8 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 1.6 |
| Housekeeping | 0.2 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 1.9 |
| Maintenance/repairs | 0.4 | -- | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Other | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 |
| Shopping | 0.6 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 0.7 |
| Child care | 0.9 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.5 |
| Volunteer | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| Total* | 3.2 | 4.8 | 4.3 | 7.0 | 7.9 | 7.5 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding

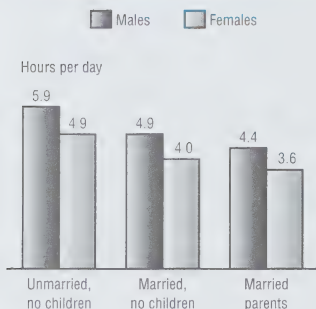
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

housekeeping chores (-0.9 hours a day), and less time on child care (-1.0 hours a day) than their non-employed counterparts. (Except for maintenance and repairs, the difference between full-time and non-employed, lone-parent mothers is even greater.) Dual-earner families may employ more child-care help, eat out more, bring more deli food home and spend more money on other types of services, such as dry cleaning, house cleaning, etc. The service industry has grown much faster than the goods-producing industry with the entry of women into the labour force.

As previously noted, 14% of boomer mothers work part-time. However, the time women spent at paid work was not equally offset by a decline in the time spent on unpaid work. Women who were employed part-time averaged 2.5 hours a day at paid work but reduced the time spent at unpaid work by just 1.0 hour a day. They spent 7.0 hours a day on unpaid work, compared with 7.9 hours for non-employed women. Like full-time employed women, they also cut back on cooking, housekeeping, shopping and child care (about one-quarter hour each), but to a lesser degree. Mothers with part-time jobs reported fewer problems in balancing their responsibilities than either full-time employed or at-home mothers. (See Table 2.10 on perception of time.)

Chart 2.7

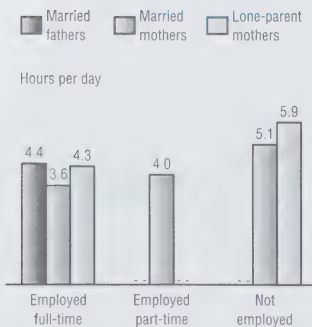
Average time spent on leisure activities by baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time, by family status



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 2.8

Average time spent on leisure time by baby boom parents aged 25-44, by labour force status



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Leisure time

Less time remained for leisure activities for boomer women (4.4 hours a day) than for boomer men (5.2 hours a day). This difference in leisure time (more than 5.0 hours a week) may partially account for the higher stress levels found among these women. Too much of their activity may have been goal-oriented and not enough time directed towards recreation and renewal. The difference between the sexes in leisure time was close to 1.0 hours a day for each of the cohorts. (Chart 2.7)

Leisure time declined as men and women increased their role responsibilities. Married parents spent about 0.5 hours a day less on socializing and on passive leisure activities than unmarried boomers. There was less change in the time spent on active leisure. (Table 2.6)

Less time remained for leisure for married individuals than the unmarried and even less for parents. Husbands had 1.0 hours a day less leisure than unmarried men, and fathers forfeited another 0.5 hours. Unmarried males enjoyed almost 6.0 hours a day, compared with less than 4.5 hours for fathers.

The decline in leisure time for full-time employed, boomer women was equally precipitous. Unmarried women started with a lower base (4.9 hours a day) than similar men, but also experienced a 25% loss in their free time. Like men, married women spent less time on socializing activities than unmarried women (-0.6 hours a day).

At least some of the time not spent at paid work was allocated to leisure time. More leisure time remained for non-employed mothers than part-time employed mothers, and both enjoyed more leisure than full-time employed mothers. As a result of the differential times spent on unpaid work, (partnered mothers spent more time than lone-parent mothers) partnered mothers (both full-time employed and non-employed) had less time remaining for leisure than similar lone-parent mothers. (Chart 2.8)

Table 2.6
Average time spent on leisure activities by baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|---------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married fathers | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married mothers |
| Hours per day | | | | | | |
| Socializing | 2.0 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 1.5 |
| Passive | 2.8 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 1.5 |
| Active | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| Total* | 5.9 | 4.9 | 4.4 | 4.9 | 4.0 | 3.6 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

The cohort with the least amount of leisure time was full-time employed, married mothers (3.6 hours a day). Cutting back to part-time work increased leisure time only marginally (4.0 hours). By working at home full-time, non-employed, married mothers had a similar amount of leisure time (5.1 hours a day) as married men without children. Non-employed, lone-parent mothers had as much leisure (5.9 hours a day) as full-time employed, unmarried men. (Table 2.7)

Table 2.7
Average time spent on leisure activities by baby boom parents aged 25-44

| | Employed full-time | | | Employed part-time | Not employed | |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| | Married fathers | Married mothers | Lone-parent mothers | Married mothers | Married mothers | Lone-parent mothers |
| | Hours per day | | | | | |
| Socializing | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.1 |
| Passive | 2.2 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 2.7 |
| Active | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 1.0 |
| Total* | 4.4 | 3.6 | 4.3 | 4.0 | 5.1 | 5.9 |

*Totals may not add due rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Among boomer parents, lone-parent mothers (regardless of labour force status) spent the most time on social activities (about 2.0 hours a day) and non-employed, lone-parent mothers spent the most time on passive leisure, (2.7 hours a day). Non-employed, married mothers and full-time employed fathers spent just 0.5 hours a day less than non-employed, lone-parent mothers on passive leisure. Active leisure showed less variability (approximately 1.0 hours a day). To some extent, fewer hours for leisure is reflected in higher time crunch levels for parents. (See Table 2.10 on perception of time.)

Unpaid work of boomer husbands

As indicated earlier, husbands did more unpaid work when they became fathers (primarily child care). Did husbands also respond with more work around the house if their wives took on work outside the house? To answer this question, the amount of time husbands allocated to unpaid work was examined according to the labour force status of their spouse.

Contrary to strong anecdotal evidence, the difference in the amount of unpaid work done by dual-earner husbands is not significantly different from other husbands. Husbands did not increase the time spent on household chores even when their wives were employed full-time. The hours that husbands spent on unpaid work by employment status of the spouse ranged from 2.8 hours to 3.1 hours a day. Surprisingly, when a wife was employed (full-time is defined as 30 hours or more a week), her spouse did about 18 minutes less unpaid work each day than a sole-earner husband. (Table 2.8)

Table 2.8

Average time spent on unpaid work by baby boom husbands aged 25-44, by labour force status of wives

| | Unpaid work Hours per day | Cooking Minutes per day |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Spouse employed full-time | 2.8 | 28 |
| Spouse employed part-time | 2.8 | 16 |
| Spouse not employed | 3.1 | 16 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Components of unpaid work were subsequently examined to determine if there was a shift among the types of household tasks that husbands undertook when their wives were employed. While there was no increase in the total amount of time spent on unpaid work, husbands with full-time employed wives spent more time on "deadline" chores, such as cooking and cleaning up, than other husbands. These time-pressured home chores cannot be put off as can be typically "male-dominated" chores, such as mowing the lawn or building a deck. Husbands with full-time employed wives averaged nearly 30 minutes a day cooking and washing up, compared with 16 minutes a day for husbands whose wives were not employed full-time. While dual-earner husbands were not doing more unpaid work, per se, those with full-time employed wives did respond to the "struggle to juggle" by sharing more of the very time-pressured tasks.

Time crunch

High levels of stress are often precursors to health problems. In this study, high levels of time stress are defined as a positive response to seven of the ten questions on time perception (Table 2.9). The proportion of highly time-stressed women increased with the proliferation of role responsibilities. One out of three full-time employed, married mothers suffered from extreme levels of time stress. In contrast, about half that proportion of men (17%) were highly time stressed, regardless of their family status. Marriage and children obviously added to the responsibilities (and concomitant stress) for women but not for men. (Chart 2.9)

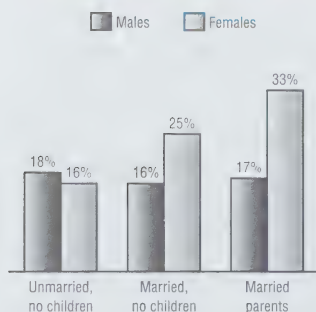
It is interesting to note that although total work was similar for husbands and wives without children, a higher proportion of women were very time crunched. From the responses of various groups, especially lone-parent mothers, the questions appear to measure a broader source of stress (poverty, lack of power or control, conflicting responsibilities) than just the stress from not having enough time.

Table 2.9 lists the ten questions on time perception and the proportion of positive responses for full-time employed boomers. The table reveals the increase in time stress for women with the sentinel events in their lives, for example, marriage and children. Among boomer men, changes in their personal lives had virtually no impact on their stress levels.

Women seem to bear stress equally as well as men under similar circumstances. Unmarried boomer women and men had comparable stress profiles. However, in contrast to men, time stress rose markedly for women with marriage and

Chart 2.9

Percentage of baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time who were highly time crunched, by family status



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

again with children. Time crunch levels virtually exploded for mothers who were employed full-time. These mothers were the most time crunched among all population cohorts. They recorded the highest proportion of positive responses most often, and frequently, by a substantial margin. Fully 69% reported they often felt under stress when they did not have enough time. Except for questions on planning to slow down and being a workaholic, on average, more than 50% of full-time employed, married mothers agreed with each question.

Interestingly, question 7 on the perception of time indicates that married men were less likely than unmarried men to "feel trapped in a daily routine," but the reverse was true for women.

Table 2.9

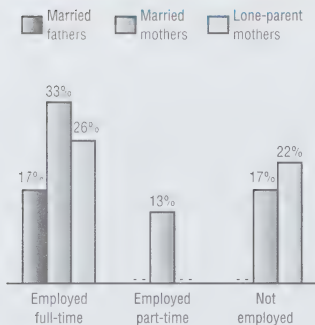
Responses to questions on perception of time by baby boomers aged 25-44 employed full-time

| | Males | | | Females | | |
|--|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married fathers | Unmarried, no children | Married, no children | Married mothers |
| | % responding affirmatively | | | | | |
| 1. Do you plan to slow down in the coming year? | 19 | 20 | 20 | 19 | 30 | 29 |
| 2. Do you consider yourself a workaholic? | 35 | 29 | 32 | 28 | 32 | 33 |
| 3. When you need more time, do you tend to cut back on your sleep? | 56 | 45 | 57 | 48 | 48 | 55 |
| 4. At the end of the day, do you often feel that you have not accomplished what you had set out to do? | 47 | 44 | 49 | 49 | 55 | 58 |
| 5. Do you worry that you don't spend enough time with your family or friends? | 45 | 43 | 51 | 45 | 48 | 51 |
| 6. Do you feel that you're constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than you can handle? | 35 | 35 | 39 | 40 | 38 | 52 |
| 7. Do you feel trapped in a daily routine? | 44 | 30 | 34 | 35 | 43 | 48 |
| 8. Do you feel that you just don't have time for fun anymore? | 28 | 26 | 36 | 34 | 41 | 52 |
| 9. Do you often feel under stress when you don't have enough time? | 50 | 49 | 51 | 58 | 60 | 69 |
| 10. Would you like to spend more time alone? | 23 | 25 | 26 | 20 | 31 | 46 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 2.10

Percentage of baby boom parents aged 25-44 who were highly time crunched, by labour force status



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Time crunched boomer parents

Chart 2.10 depicts the proportion of seriously time crunched boomer parents who responded affirmatively to seven or more of the ten questions on time perception. Among full-time employed parents (the most time crunched group), mothers with partners to share the load had the highest proportion, even higher than the proportion of lone-parent mothers. Lone-parent mothers were less likely than married mothers to agree they did not have time for fun anymore and were less likely to feel the need to spend more time alone.

"The interaction between home, community, and the workplace may lead to conflicting roles, responsibilities, and expectations. For women, the role conflicts experienced while trying to juggle competing demands on these different fronts can be very stressful."⁵

The proportion of highly stressed mothers fell by limiting the time spent at paid work. A slightly higher proportion of non-employed mothers were time crunched than part-time employed mothers. At least part of the explanation might be that non-employed mothers have younger children than employed mothers. Full-time employed mothers registered far higher proportions agreeing with each time crunch question than mothers who had cut back from full-time employment. (Table 2.10)

While employed, married mothers (full-time and part-time) were most likely to need more time alone, cutting back on work alleviated most other sources of time stress. Part-time employed and at-home mothers had similar stress profiles. Notably, however, part-time work greatly reduced the proportion of mothers who felt "trapped in a daily routine."

Discussion

Boomers comprise more than 40% of the adult population, and consequently, have a strong influence over social, cultural and economic trends. They are a highly educated group and have the highest average household incomes, primarily because more than 60% of families are dual-earners. Yet nearly 60% have children under the age of 15. Despite their dramatic influx into paid labour, women retain the primary responsibility for family life. They remain the primary care givers for children, the disabled and for elderly parents. They remain responsible for getting supper on the table, preparing lunches and doing the laundry. In order to cope with the heavy workload, many women reduce the time spent at paid work.

Parents, more specifically mothers, may report greater stress because their activities, even leisure time, are often multi-functional. While cooking supper, eating meals or watching television, they are also looking after their children. While difficult to measure, secondary activities are an important component of household work for parents. As evidenced by results from alternative methods,⁶ the major portion of child care (75%) is carried out as a secondary activity. The primary child care (when child care is the predominant activity) captured by the

⁵Graham S. Lowe, *Women, Paid/Unpaid Work, and Stress: New Directions for Research*, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, March 1989.

⁶Judith Frederick, "Measuring Child Care and Sleep, Some Results From The 1992 General Social Survey," *Fifteenth Reunion of the International Association for Time Use Research*, Amsterdam, June 15-18, 1993, Editors Nelly Kalf and Andrew S. Harvey, NIMMO, Amsterdam, 1994.

daily diary is only one-quarter of the child care that parents reported through more direct questioning.

As well, stress arises with a lack of control and lack of control is epidemic with the advent of children. The needs of young children are immediate. They have to be fed when they are hungry, changed when they are wet and comforted on demand. Nearly 70% of full-time employed, married mothers felt rushed on a daily basis (less than 50% of other busy baby boomers) and nearly 50% reported they would like to spend more time alone (25% of non-parents).

Table 2.10

Responses to questions on perception of time by baby boom parents aged 25-44

| | Employed full-time, married fathers | Employed full-time, married mothers | Employed part-time, married mothers | Not employed, married mothers | Employed full-time, lone-parent mothers | Not employed, lone-parent mothers |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | % responding affirmatively | | | | | |
| 1. Do you plan to slow down in the coming year? | 20 | 29 | 20 | 18 | 28 | 28 |
| 2. Do you consider yourself a workaholic? | 32 | 33 | 19 | 21 | 33 | 30 |
| 3. When you need more time, do you tend to cut back on your sleep? | 57 | 55 | 43 | 47 | 60 | 63 |
| 4. At the end of the day, do you often feel that you have not accomplished what you had set out to do? | 49 | 58 | 50 | 49 | 56 | 55 |
| 5. Do you worry that you don't spend enough time with your family or friends? | 51 | 51 | 37 | 30 | 58 | 31 |
| 6. Do you feel that you're constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than you can handle? | 39 | 52 | 32 | 36 | 51 | 47 |
| 7. Do you feel trapped in a daily routine? | 34 | 48 | 35 | 46 | 42 | 45 |
| 8. Do you feel that you just don't have time for fun anymore? | 36 | 52 | 35 | 39 | 40 | 45 |
| 9. Do you often feel under stress when you don't have enough time? | 51 | 69 | 58 | 53 | 62 | 54 |
| 10. Would you like to spend more time alone? | 26 | 46 | 46 | 37 | 36 | 37 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

We have seen that the gap in unpaid work for full-time employed parents was 12.0 hours a week and that mothers had largely offset the expected gap in the total work burden (reducing it to 3.0 hours) by spending less time at paid work. Unlike men, women, and most particularly mothers, pay a price in combining jobs and family. Mothers, in order to cope with their many complex and often conflicting responsibilities, may jeopardize their economic future and that of their children, especially in the event of marital dissolution, by limiting their participation in the paid labour force.

This chapter has highlighted the heavy cost of the "struggle to juggle" for the baby boom population. Clearly for boomer parents, time use is driven by jobs and children. The outcome of trying to manage conflicting, diverse and complex roles results in high levels of time stress. A full-time employed mother experiences the heaviest time crunch of all. The challenge of alleviating the differential burden, which is demonstrated by the different levels of time stress and leisure for men and women, lies in finding both personal and social solutions.

Suggestions for balancing jobs and family have been offered in other studies. Potential employer assistance lies in more flexible work hours, job sharing, portable technology, more telecommuting, family leave, counselling services, organizational workshops, day-care benefits and/or on-site child care.⁷ Already, dozens of good ideas are being tried to make the workplace "family-friendly," to use the current jargon. A range of policy options has also been suggested for the home front, "houses built for working women, better planned distribution, rationalized housework, public services, school meals, day nurseries, nursery schools and domestic help."⁸

⁷Dr. Linda Duxbury, Dr. Catherine Lee, Dr. Christopher Higgins and Dr. Shirley Mills. *Balancing Work and Family: A Study of the Canadian Federal Public Sector*, December 1991.

⁸Veronica Beechey, *Unequal Work*, Verso, 1987, p. 151.

CHAPTER 3

THE TRANSITIONAL YEARS, MIDDLE ADULthood, 45 TO 64

Over the next decade, with the baby boomers inevitably plunging into middle age, the concerns of individuals in mid-life will take centre stage. The years of middle adulthood, 45 to 64, are a transitional phase in life. Mid-agers are shifting from the second age (production and reproduction) to the third age (reflection and personal growth). While the driving ambition of youth has flagged, individuals in mid-life have gained wisdom. This age may mark different stages in the career paths of men and women. Women who have worked at home raising a family may now venture into the labour market. Men who have focussed their whole lives on a career may now find more satisfaction in personal pursuits. Many are confronted by their own mortality for the first time. It is a time of reflection, of taking stock, of preparing for the third age.

This chapter explores the changes precipitated by the transition from employment to non-employment for mid-agers. While well-off mid-agers may embrace early retirement, the transition is not always voluntary. Older workers are concentrated in sectors that have been hardest hit by economic restructuring. These displaced workers may not only face age discrimination by employers, but are more likely to have lower levels of formal education than younger workers.

Commencing with a basic demographic profile of mid-agers, the chapter continues with an examination of activities and time stresses, and concludes with a discussion of the impact of retirement.

Demographic profile of mid-agers

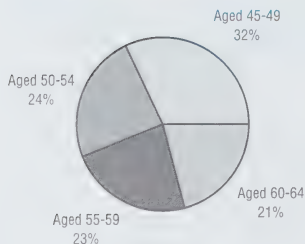
Women and men represented virtually equal proportions of mid-agers. Mid-agers, themselves, represented 26% of the Canadian population aged 15 and over. The effect of the front-end of the baby boom bulge was evident in the stratification of 45- to 64-year-olds. A higher proportion of mid-agers (32%) were between the ages 45 and 49 than in the following 5-year age groups. (Chart 3.1)

Mid-adult cohorts

Labour force status is the primary determinant of time allocation. Time spent at paid work cuts into time available for other activities like unpaid work, leisure and

Chart 3.1

Percentage of the mid-age population aged 45-64, by 5-year age groups



Source: Statistics Canada. General Social Survey, 1992.

personal care. Consequently, employed individuals will spend less time on these activities. Gender and marital status are also strong predictors of activity. All of these factors are taken into account in stratifying mid-agers aged 45 to 64. Eight mid-aged population groups were identified. In view of the small numbers of mid-agers with young children, only households without children (under age 19) were included.

Early retirement was evident among "senior" mid-agers aged 60 to 64. While more than 85% of 45- to 49-year-old men were working full-time, just 30% of men aged 60 to 64 were still working full-time. Participation rates for mid-aged women dropped even more abruptly, from about 50% for 45- to 49-year-olds to less than 15% for 60- to 64-year-olds. Consequently, analysing mid-aged role cohorts by employment status also incorporates an age element. Non-employed cohorts tend to comprise senior mid-agers.

Health

Almost 85% of mid-agers reported good to excellent health. However, middle age marks the stage in life when lack of exercise, poor nutrition, cigarettes, alcohol, drug abuse and environmental factors begin to exact their toll. An increasing proportion of individuals reported failing health as they moved through the middle years. Fewer than 15% of mid-agers aged 45 to 49 reported a long-term disability, compared with nearly 30% of those aged 60 to 64.

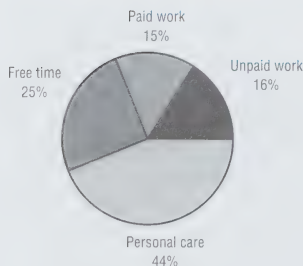
A much higher proportion of non-employed mid-agers (nearly 25%) reported fair to poor health, compared with the full-time employed (10%). Consequently, non-employed mid-agers may have different activity patterns not only due to the transition to retirement, but also because a larger proportion suffered from poorer health.

An average day for mid-agers

Personal care (meeting biological needs) consumed about 44% of the day for mid-agers. Overall, mid-agers spent slightly more time on household work (16%) than paid work (15%), and about one-quarter of the day remained for leisure activities. While providing an overview of this age group, the average time, like any sweeping generalization is bound to be misleading. The discriminating characteristics, noted earlier, will be taken into account in subsequent analysis. (Chart 3.2)

Chart 3.2

Activities over an average day by mid-agers aged 45-64



Source: Statistics Canada. General Social Survey, 1992.

Personal care

Not unexpectedly, labour force status clearly affects the amount of time consumed by personal care. Employed mid-agers spent about 10.0 hours a day on personal maintenance, compared with 11.0 hours a day for the non-employed. Generally, females averaged slightly more time than their male counterparts, primarily on sleep. As noted earlier, biologically, women require more sleep than men. (Table 3.1)

Table 3.1 shows a strong pattern in the average time spent on personal care. With retirement, more time is available to meet biological needs. Each component of personal care, sleep, meals and other, increased with the transition to non-employment for most cohorts.

Table 3.1
Average time spent on personal care by mid-agers aged 45-64

| | Males | | | | Females | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | Married | | Unmarried | | Married | | Unmarried | |
| | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed |
| | Hours per day | | | | | | | |
| Sleep | 7.3 | 8.1 | 7.6 | 7.5 | 7.7 | 8.2 | 8.1 | 8.4 |
| Meals | 1.3 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 1.0 | 1.2 |
| Other | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.7 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.6 |
| Total* | 9.9 | 11.1 | 10.0 | 10.4 | 10.2 | 11.0 | 10.6 | 11.2 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Employed married men averaged less sleep (-0.8 hours a day) than their non-employed counterparts. Similarly, employed women slept slightly less (-0.5 hours a day) than their non-employed counterparts. In contrast, unmarried men spent about the same amount of time sleeping whether employed or not. Most of the non-employed cohorts averaged more than 8.0 hours a night.

Are full-time employed mid-agers sleep deprived? Analysis of the time use data suggests they are. As Table 3.1 shows, mid-agers tended to spend more time sleeping when their lives were not constrained by paid work.

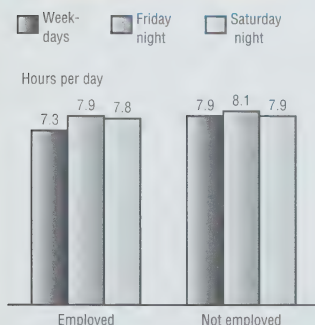
Weekly sleep patterns of the employed and non-employed are markedly different. The employed slept for a longer time on the weekend when they could sleep in (nearly 8.0 hours a day), than during the week (7.3 hours a day), presumably, to compensate for a sleep-deprived week on the job. In contrast, the non-employed slept for virtually the same amount of time throughout the week (about 8.0 hours a day). Further support is supplied by the questions on the perception of time. Respondents were asked, "When you need more time do you tend to cut back on your sleep?" Employed mid-agers (42%) were much more likely than the non-employed (32%) to agree. (Chart 3.3)

Beginning in middle adulthood, problems either getting to sleep or staying asleep escalated among women. About 30% of women, compared with just 17% of men reported sleep problems. Among the younger population, the difference was less than 5 percentage points.

Total work¹

Overall, the total amount of work (paid work, unpaid work and education) eased for mid-agers. They spent about 7.6 hours a day, compared with 9.0 hours for boomers. Mid-agers spent about 1.1 hours less at paid work each day and 0.2 hours less on unpaid work.

Chart 3.3
Sleep patterns of mid-agers aged 45-64, by labour force status



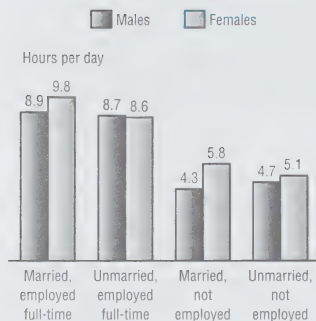
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

¹See Appendix A for discussion of the criterion and limitations of total work activities.

CHAPTER 3

Chart 3.4

Average time spent on total work activities¹ by mid-agers aged 45-64, by marital and labour force statuses

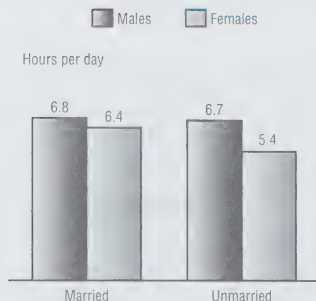


¹Includes time spent on paid and unpaid work, and educational activities.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 3.5

Average time spent on paid work and related activities¹ by mid-agers aged 45-64 employed full-time, by marital status



¹Related activities include commuting time and other activities related to paid work.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

However, the overall average time does not reveal the polarization among this transitional age cohort. Average time spent on total work declined from the busy boomer years, not because individuals were working shorter hours, but because fewer participated. With more women in the labour force, labour force status, not sex, is the strongest predictor of daily behaviour patterns. Full-time employed mid-agers spent 9.1 hours a day at total work, similar to boomers, while non-employed mid-agers averaged 5.5 hours a day. (Chart 3.4)

Full-time employed wives had the longest workdays, spending nearly 1.0 hours a day more than their male counterparts. Most of the difference was in unpaid work. In contrast, their unmarried counterparts logged similar hours, but unmarried women spent about one hour more on unpaid work and men more time on paid work. (Table 3.2)

Non-employed mid-agers had easier days. About one-third of the time that used to be spent at paid work (about 6.0 hours) was allocated to unpaid work. Nonetheless, wives spent 1.5 hours a day longer than husbands on total work, while the gap between unmarried mid-agers was much smaller (0.4 hours a day).

Paid work and related activities²

A smaller difference in the time spent at paid work was evident between married mid-agers than between the unmarried. Full-time employed, mid-aged men spent about 6.8 hours a day (married or not), but married women spent 1.0 hours more each day than unmarried women. (Chart 3.5)

Unpaid work

Women did more than 60% of the unpaid work done by mid-agers, averaging 4.7 hours a day, compared with 2.9 hours a day for men. Like other married women, married mid-aged women were primarily responsible for the deadline chores, like

²See Appendix B for list of inclusions in paid work and related activities.

Table 3.2
Average time spent on total work activities by mid-agers aged 45-64

| | Males | | | | Females | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | Married | | Unmarried | | Married | | Unmarried | |
| | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed |
| Hours per day | | | | | | | | |
| Paid | 6.8 | 0.0 | 6.7 | 0.3 | 6.4 | 0.1 | 5.4 | 0.2 |
| Unpaid | 2.1 | 4.2 | 2.0 | 4.4 | 3.4 | 5.7 | 3.2 | 4.7 |
| Education | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| Total* | 8.9 | 4.3 | 8.7 | 4.7 | 9.8 | 5.8 | 8.6 | 5.1 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

cooking and cleaning up. Mid-aged wives spent more than three times the amount of time cooking and cleaning up of mid-aged husbands, while unmarried women and men spent similar amounts. (Table 3.3)

Both labour force status and gender were strong predictors of the hours devoted to unpaid work. Expectedly, non-employed mid-agers spent more time than the employed, and women more than comparable men. Among the non-employed, married women added more time (+2.3 hours) to unpaid work than unmarried women (1.5 hours) with the shift from employment. Men, both unmarried and married, added about 2.0 hours a day.

While marital status was a determining factor in the amount of unpaid work done by women, men spent about the same amount of time whether married or not. However, the tasks differed. Unmarried men spent more time on cooking and housekeeping chores, while married men spent more time on maintenance and repair activities.

Leisure time

About one-quarter of the day remained for leisure activities. Expectedly, labour force status was the primary determinant of free time, but gender and marital status also played a role. Nearly 8.0 hours a day remained for the non-employed, compared with less than 5.0 hours a day for the full-time employed. Men experienced more leisure time than women. While about the same amount of

Table 3.3
Average time spent on unpaid work activities by mid-agers aged 45-64

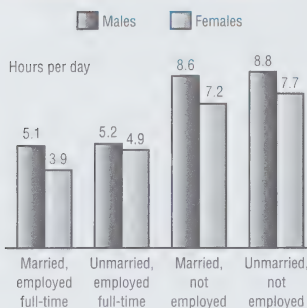
| | Males | | | | Females | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | Married | | Unmarried | | Married | | Unmarried | |
| | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed |
| | Hours per day | | | | | | | |
| Cooking | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.7 | 0.6 | 1.1 |
| Housekeeping | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| Maintenance/repairs | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Other | 0.4 | 1.1 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| Shopping | 0.6 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 0.9 |
| Volunteer | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| Total* | 2.1 | 4.2 | 2.0 | 4.4 | 3.4 | 5.7 | 3.2 | 4.7 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 3.6

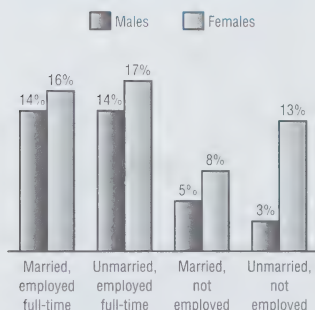
Average time spent on leisure activities by mid-agers aged 45-64, by marital and labour force statuses



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 3.7

Percentage of mid-agers aged 45-64 who were highly time crunched, by marital and labour force statuses



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

time remained for leisure for men whether married or not, less time remained if women were married. (Chart 3.6)

Overall, mid-agers spent more time on home-centered, passive leisure than other types of leisure (about 50%). Men, however, allocated a larger share of their leisure time to passive leisure (television) than comparable women. For most comparable cohorts, the difference in leisure time was at least 1.0 hours a day. (Table 3.4)

Time crunch

The questions on time perception provide an indicator of time-related stress and are most relevant for students and the employed. However, change is also a source of stress in our lives and the lives of many mid-agers are changing, both at home (becoming empty-nesters) and at work (with retirement). The shift to non-employment, while alleviating the time crunch, may create new worries such as financial pressures, loss of status in society, and lack of time structure. These sources are not explicitly captured in the questions on the perception of time following.

Responses to time stress questions were more strongly related to labour force status than gender or marital status among mid-agers. With the pressure of full-time work, employed mid-agers were markedly more time stressed than their non-employed counterparts. About 15% of employed mid-agers were very time stressed (responding affirmatively to seven or more questions on the perception of time, see Table 3.5), compared with just 10% of non-employed mid-agers. (Chart 3.7)

Not unexpectedly, one of the most significant differences between the employed and non-employed was to the question "Do you worry that you don't spend enough time with your family or friends?" Fully double the proportion of full-time employed mid-agers (33%) worried they did not spend enough time, compared with the non-employed (16%). As well, significantly more full-time employed

Table 3.4
Average time spent on leisure activities by mid-agers aged 45-64

| | Males | | | | Females | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | Married | | Unmarried | | Married | | Unmarried | |
| | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed | Employed full-time | Not employed |
| | Hours per day | | | | | | | |
| Socializing | 1.5 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 2.3 | 1.3 | 2.3 |
| Passive | 2.8 | 4.6 | 2.7 | 5.2 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 2.7 | 3.6 |
| Active | 0.8 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 0.8 | 1.8 |
| Total* | 5.1 | 8.6 | 5.2 | 8.8 | 3.9 | 7.2 | 4.9 | 7.7 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

mid-agers (50%) felt under stress when they did not have enough time than their non-employed counterparts (30%).

Employed women were slightly more time crunched than comparable men. Surprisingly, employed, unmarried women registered the highest proportion of those who worried about not spending enough time with family or friends, and also not having time for fun anymore. Employed wives reported the highest positive response to: feeling trapped in a daily routine (42%); often feeling under stress when they did not have enough time (52%); and wanting to spend more time alone (30%). Nonetheless, employment appeared to be the primary source of time stress for mid-agers. (Table 3.5)

Table 3.5
Responses to questions on perception of time by mid-agers aged 45-64

| | Employed | | | | Not employed | | | |
|--|----------------------------|-----------|---------|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| | Males | | Females | | Males | | Females | |
| | Married | Unmarried | Married | Unmarried | Married | Unmarried | Married | Unmarried |
| | % responding affirmatively | | | | | | | |
| 1. Do you plan to slow down in the coming year? | 33 | 25 | 35 | 19 | 20 | 17 | 23 | 26 |
| 2. Do you consider yourself a workaholic? | 38 | 31 | 34 | 40 | 22 | 3 | 26 | 24 |
| 3. When you need more time, do you tend to cut back on your sleep? | 38 | 40 | 44 | 46 | 26 | 31 | 29 | 45 |
| 4. At the end of the day, do you often feel that you have not accomplished what you had set out to do? | 51 | 37 | 56 | 49 | 52 | 38 | 47 | 54 |
| 5. Do you worry that you don't spend enough time with your family or friends? | 31 | 24 | 23 | 36 | 14 | 24 | 13 | 18 |
| 6. Do you feel that you're constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than you can handle? | 34 | 29 | 38 | 36 | 19 | 15 | 25 | 36 |
| 7. Do you feel trapped in a daily routine? | 33 | 40 | 42 | 32 | 15 | 22 | 27 | 28 |
| 8. Do you feel that you just don't have time for fun anymore? | 33 | 29 | 29 | 35 | 15 | 11 | 18 | 21 |
| 9. Do you often feel under stress when you don't have enough time? | 42 | 44 | 52 | 46 | 16 | 18 | 35 | 31 |
| 10. Would you like to spend more time alone? | 15 | 7 | 30 | 15 | 10 | 5 | 19 | 10 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

The transition to non-employment resulted in a greater reduction of time stress for husbands than for wives. While women may retire from paid work, they cannot retire from unpaid work. Non-employed wives were almost twice as likely as non-employed husbands to feel trapped in a daily routine (27% and 15%, respectively), to feel under stress when they did not have enough time (35% and 16%, respectively), and to want to spend more time alone (19% and 10%, respectively).

Discussion

While the majority of mid-agers were still employed full-time, the effect of children on time use had eased. As a result, mid-agers enjoyed more leisure time than boomers. But, the pivotal change for mid-agers is the transition to non-employment. The lives of full-time employed mid-agers closely resembled the lives of similar baby boomers, while those of the non-employed more closely resembled the senior population. Non-employed mid-agers were less rushed and concomitantly, less time crunched, than employed mid-agers. Without the commitment to paid work, they spent more time on household chores, had more time to meet personal needs, most notably sleep, and more time remained for leisure activities.

Victor Marshall notes, "The major contributors to independence and well-being in later life are health, wealth and social integration."³ Boomers are in a far more favourable position than existing mid-agers to enjoy independence and well-being as they age. Boomers, in their quest for prolonged youth, are strong proponents of exercise and a healthy diet. Through closer attachment to paid labour, baby boom women have had a greater opportunity than mid-aged women to accumulate the prerequisites for income security in their senior years. Economic independence is nearly impossible for mid-aged women who have worked full-time at home raising a family. Even if they enter the work force at mid-life, they are not likely to accumulate the years of experience on the job or the pension contributions to provide financial independence in their senior years.

Continued medical breakthroughs, better nutrition, more exercise and stress reduction will lead to longer and healthier lives. The question of how best to utilize our extended lives remains. An innovative response is needed so individuals in middle adulthood can anticipate a useful and productive prolonged third age. As the boomer bulge realizes middle adulthood, these questions will loom every larger.

³Victor W. Marshall, "Contributions to Independence Over the Adult Life Course," *Fact Sheet*, Centre for Studies of Aging, University of Toronto, February 1995.

CHAPTER 4

THE THIRD AGE, SENIORS, 65 AND OVER

Canada's population has been gradually "greying" over the past seven decades. The proportion of Canadian seniors (arbitrarily defined as people aged 65 and over) has increased markedly due to rising mortality trends and declining birth rates. The total fertility rate has halved from 3.5 children per woman in 1921 to 1.7 children in 1992. At the other end of the spectrum, life expectancy for women has increased to almost 81 years in 1991 from 66 years in 1941, and to 74 years and from 63 years for men. And, given the demographic imperative of the baby boom bulge, the share of seniors in Canada, like other developed countries, will continue to escalate. In 1992, seniors represented about 14% of the total Canadian population, up from just 5% in 1921. Projections for the year 2041 are that nearly one in four Canadians will be a "senior."

Seniors are an important and growing segment of the Canadian population. The policy implications of supporting such a large elderly population have been heavily debated. The current demographic profile of Canadians implies that future seniors will be supported by a shrinking labour force. The well-being of seniors will remain a central issue in the years to come. There is increasing concern that the relatively large number of seniors will strain the social safety net for the provision of health, pensions, housing and other services.

Demographic profile of seniors

Most seniors were not engaged in paid work: just 5% reported they were employed; two-thirds stated they were retired; and another one-quarter reported they were keeping house. Senior men (85%) were more likely than senior women to say they were retired. Just over 50% of senior women reported they were retired, while more than 40% said they were keeping house.

Seniors were employed in an era when formal education was not as essential to success in the job market, nearly one-half never finished high school, notably higher than other age cohorts.

About one-quarter of seniors reported their health was fair to poor, slightly more women (29%) than men (21%). Trouble either going to sleep or staying asleep increased with age, most particularly for women. About 30% of seniors reported sleeping problems, more than twice as many women (39%) as men (18%).

In order to analyse the daily behaviour of this diverse mix of individuals, seniors were classified into cohorts based on gender, marital status and living arrangement. To maintain cohorts of sufficient size, only non-employed seniors were categorized. Married men and women were delineated, as well as unattached men and women living alone. Unmarried women, living in an extended family, were grouped separately. The number of similar senior men was not large enough for meaningful analysis.

With access to pensions and increased mobility, the extended family household is becoming a thing of the past. If seniors are not living with a spouse, they tend to live alone. As women continue, on average, to outlive their spouses, senior women are much more likely to live alone. About 35% of the senior population lives alone; fully 44% of senior women, compared with 24% of senior men. About 45% of women and 71% of men live with their spouse. The remainder are living with "others." Clearly seniors have a preference for remaining autonomous as long as possible. Many of the unmarried women living with others may have done so due to failing health. When needed, multi-generational households remain a viable alternative.

Married senior cohorts were much more likely to be "younger" seniors than unmarried senior cohorts. About 48% were less than 70 years of age, compared with about 25% of unattached seniors. A similar proportion (about 30%), of both married and unmarried seniors were "intermediate" seniors (aged 70 to 74), while nearly 50% of unattached seniors living alone were "older seniors," over age 75. (Chart 4.1)

A significant proportion of seniors (41%) reported they had a long-term disability and the share rose with increasing age. In 1991, about 37% of 65- to 74-year-olds, 56% of those 75 to 84, and 85% of people aged 85 and over, had disabilities.¹ Senior cohorts vary in composition by age, for instance, married seniors tend to be younger and healthier than unmarried seniors. The cohorts are, consequently, unequally affected by health problems and rates of disability.

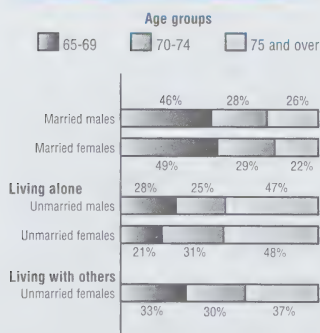
While a fairly even distribution of women and men was found among the Canadian population aged 15 and over (51% and 49%, respectively), women outnumbered men among the senior population (57% and 43%, respectively) and this ratio grew with increasing age. As women outlive men by an average 6.5 years, women's share increased to 70%² of individuals aged 85 and over. As a result, the major proportion of elderly Canadians (aged 85 and over) were widowed women. Because, historically, women have not been in the labour force, many of these women rely on government pensions as their sole source of income. Others may also get a portion of their husband's pension.

An average day for seniors

Seniors aged 65 and over, most of whom were not in the labour force, averaged just 2% of their day at employed work, compared with an average of 15% for younger Canadians aged 15 to 64. Seniors spent slightly more time on household chores than younger age groups (17% vs. 15%), while personal care (primarily sleep) consumed nearly 50% of the day, up from 44% for younger

Chart 4.1

Senior population aged 65 and over



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

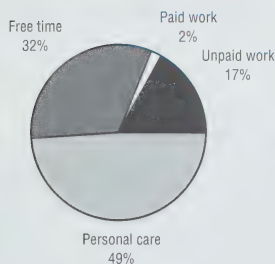
¹ *A Portrait of Persons with Disabilities*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 89-542E, February 1995.

² *Ibid*, derived from Table 3.2, p. 15.

CHAPTER 4

Chart 4.2

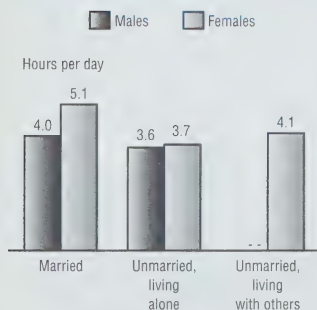
Activities over an average day by seniors aged 65 and over



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 4.3

Average time spent on total work activities¹ by seniors aged 65 and over, by marital status



¹Includes time spent on paid and unpaid work, and educational activities.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Canadians. Because their days were not constrained by paid work or educational activities, more time remained for leisure. Free time increased from one-quarter of the day to nearly one-third. (Chart 4.2)

Personal care

Personal care (including sleep, meals, washing and dressing, etc.) consumed nearly one-half of the day for seniors. Senior women (11.9 hours a day) and senior men (11.5 hours a day) spent more time than younger individuals. Much of this time was spent sleeping. Following the gendered pattern of sleep found in younger age cohorts, senior women spent slightly more time sleeping (8.5 hours), than senior men (8.25 hours).

However, the gender difference in average sleep time virtually disappeared between comparable senior cohorts. The major outlier was unattached women, living with others (8.8 hours). This unusually high average time spent sleeping may be related to the high rate of long-term disability (nearly 60%) for this cohort. (Table 4.1)

Seniors enjoyed more leisurely meal times than younger age groups, averaging nearly 1.5 hours a day on meals. Other personal care (washing, dressing) took almost 2.0 hours a day.

Total work³

Not unexpectedly, as most seniors have moved into a new stage in life, leaving behind the demands of paid work, they spent the least amount of time on work activities. Total work hours have been at least halved for both men and women from the peak baby boomer years. Married women devoted about 1.0 hours more to unpaid work (more than 5.0 hours a day) than their spouses, but both did more than unattached men and women living alone (approximately 3.6 hours a day). (Chart 4.3)

³See Appendix A for discussion of the criterion and limitations of total work activities.

Table 4.1

Average time spent on personal care activities by seniors aged 65 and over

| | Males | | Females | | |
|---------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Married | Unmarried living alone | Married | Unmarried living alone | Unmarried living with others |
| Hours per day | | | | | |
| Sleeping | 8.3 | 8.5 | 8.4 | 8.5 | 8.8 |
| Eating | 1.6 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.6 |
| Other | 1.8 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 2.2 |
| Total* | 11.6 | 11.7 | 11.7 | 12.0 | 12.6 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Unpaid work

As shown Table 4.2, virtually all of the total work burden for seniors was for unpaid work. As a group, seniors spent more time on household chores than younger age groups. This pattern is not representational, however, for both men and women. The data show unpaid work peaked for men in their senior years. Senior men spent nearly 1.0 hours more each day on household chores (nearly 4.0 hours) than mid-aged men. In contrast, unpaid work peaked during the busy boomer years for women and consistently fell with successive age groups. Senior women spent nearly 4.5 hours on unpaid work, slightly less time (about one-quarter hour) than mid-aged women. Nevertheless, even in the third age, when neither men nor women were constrained by paid work, women continued to do more unpaid work than men, almost three-quarters of an hour more each day (5.0 hours more each week).

Table 4.2
Average time spent on total work activities by seniors aged 65 and over

| | Males | | Females | | |
|---------------|------------|------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Married | Unmarried living alone | Married | Unmarried living alone | Unmarried living with others |
| Hours per day | | | | | |
| Paid | 0.1 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Unpaid | 3.9 | 3.6 | 5.1 | 3.7 | 4.1 |
| Education | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Total | 4.0 | 3.6 | 5.1 | 3.7 | 4.1 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Family status and gender were significant indicators of the average time spent on household chores among seniors. Married seniors spent more time on chores than unmarried seniors, and women invariably did more than comparable men. While men and women spent about the same amount of time shopping, distribution among other chores was clearly gender driven, especially between married men and women. Women spent most of their unpaid work time on cooking and housekeeping chores (2.0 to 3.0 hours a day), while men did more "other" domestic work, volunteer work and some maintenance and repair. (Table 4.3)

The biggest difference was between married seniors; wives spent more than 5.0 hours a day on unpaid work, compared with less than 4.0 hours a day for their partners. Wives spent nearly 2.0 hours a day cooking and cleaning up and about 1.0 hours each on housekeeping chores and shopping. In contrast, married senior men spent very little time cooking and washing up and on housekeeping chores (about 0.5 hours a day each). The unpaid work of senior husbands, 3.9 hours a day, largely consisted of shopping and "other" household chores.

There is virtually no gender difference in the total amount of time that unattached seniors, living alone, spent on unpaid work (just over 3.5 hours a day).

Table 4.3

Average time spent on unpaid work activities by seniors aged 65 and over

| | Males | | Females | | |
|---------------------|---------------|------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Married | Unmarried living alone | Married | Unmarried living alone | Unmarried living with others |
| | Hours per day | | | | |
| Cooking | 0.5 | 0.8 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 1.2 |
| Housekeeping | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.4 |
| Maintenance/repairs | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Other | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Shopping | 1.0 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.8 |
| Volunteer | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 |
| Total* | 3.9 | 3.6 | 5.1 | 3.7 | 4.1 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

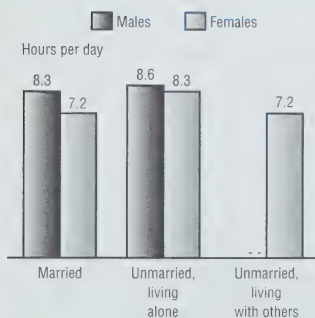
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Unattached senior men and women spent similar amounts of time cooking and shopping (roughly 1.0 hours each), but women spent more time on housekeeping chores and men more time on "other" household work.

Even though elderly widows tended to live with their offspring because of poor health (about 60% reported a long-term disability), these women performed many of the necessary home chores for the family. They spent more than 1.0 hours a day cooking and cleaning up, about 1.5 hours a day on housekeeping chores and close to an additional 1.0 hours shopping. Some also cared for their grandchildren. While for many reasons the extended family household is becoming a thing of the past, extended families appear to offer benefits to all members.

Chart 4.4

Average time spent on leisure activities by seniors aged 65 and over, by marital status



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Leisure time

Not unexpectedly, the data show that seniors had the most time left for leisure activities, about one-third of an average day. Consistent with the pattern of leisure time between younger men and women, more free time remained for senior men than senior women.

Women living with a spouse or living with others reported the least amount of leisure time among seniors, 7.2 hours a day. Other seniors had more than 1.0 hours more each day. (Chart 4.4)

Senior cohorts budgeted their leisure time among quite different leisure activities. Typically, seniors living alone spent more leisure time on "social activities" than seniors who lived with others. For cohabiting seniors, many of the benefits of socializing would occur during their daily activities.

Men living alone spent almost 1.0 hours more each day socializing, and about 0.5 hours less time on home-centred, passive activities (watching television) than married men. Marital status did not influence the amount of time senior men spent on active leisure (about 1.3 hours a day). (Table 4.4)

While unattached senior women, in an extended family, had the same amount of free time as married women (7.2 hours a day), they allocated it differently. These women tended to be older and in poorer health than senior wives. They spent more time on passive leisure (4.7 hours a day) and less time on active leisure (0.8 hours a day). Similar times were spent socializing (1.7 hours a day). Unattached senior women, living alone, enjoyed about 1.0 hours a day more leisure time (8.3 hours a day) than senior wives.

Slowing down, slowly

In order to isolate the effects of aging and test at least one myth about seniors (needing help with daily activities), comparisons between similar groups of non-employed mid-agers and seniors, matched by gender and marital status, were made. The difference in the time spent on major activities between married cohorts of the two age groups was slight. Both unpaid work and free time fell marginally for older married men, offsetting the increase time consumed by personal care. Personal care also consumed about 0.5 hours more for married senior women but the offsetting decline fell on unpaid work.

Differences between unmarried cohorts were greater. Still, unmarried seniors did just 1.0 hours a day less unpaid work than mid-agers, due primarily to the increased time consumed by personal care. Time left for leisure activities was similar between unattached mid-agers and seniors. But, seniors spent slightly

Table 4.4
Average time spent on leisure activities by seniors aged 65 and over

| | Males | | Females | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------------------|------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Married | Unmarried living alone | Married | Unmarried living alone | Unmarried living with others |
| | Hours per day | | | | |
| Socializing | 1.7 | 2.5 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 1.7 |
| Passive | 5.3 | 4.9 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 4.7 |
| Active | 1.3 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 0.8 |
| Total* | 8.3 | 8.6 | 7.2 | 8.3 | 7.2 |

*Totals may not add due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

less time on social activities than those in mid-life and slightly more time on passive, at-home leisure. Active leisure showed little variation. (Table 4.5)

As noted earlier, marital status was strongly related to advancing age among seniors. Unattached seniors (includes widowed) tended to be much older than married seniors. About 50% of unmarried seniors were 75 years of age and over, compared with less than 25% of married seniors. The measured differences in activities for the unmarried population were consequently not solely between mid-agers and seniors, but between mid-agers and "older" seniors.

Seniors are, above all, a heterogeneous group. Income, education, marital status, child status, lifestyle factors (nutrition, smoking, alcohol and drug consumption), and hereditary factors are some of the differentiating variables that determine their ability to function in their senior years. While seniors may tend to slow down with increasing age and disability, it is primarily in their "elderly" senior years. Aging implies some changes from mid-life, but most seniors are still active and able to fend for themselves (and others), despite the higher proportion with long-term disabilities.

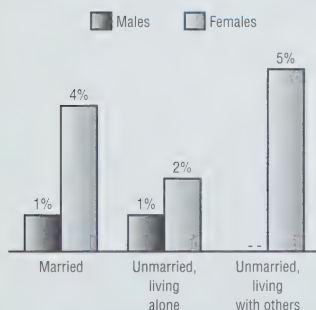
Time crunch

Without the dual pressures of job and young children, it is not surprising that seniors were markedly less time crunched than Canadians in the second age. While fully one-third of full-time employed, married boomer mothers were time crunched (responding affirmatively to seven or more questions on the perception of time), just 4% of married senior women were time crunched. (Chart 4.5)

Fewer seniors tended to agree with the questions on time perception than younger age groups. However, one question was conspicuous by its strong concurrence among seniors (as well as other age groups). *"At the end of the day, do you often feel that you have not accomplished what you had set out to do?"* This question may reflect more the time pressure individuals placed on themselves than time pressure from an external source, such as job and family. About 40% of senior women and 30% of senior men concurred. In comparison,

Chart 4.5

Percentage of seniors aged 65 and over who felt highly time crunched, by marital status



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Table 4.5
Comparison of time use by non-employed mid-ager and senior cohorts

| | Married | | | | Unmarried | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------|-------------|-----------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| | Males | | Females | | Males | | Females | |
| | 45-64 | 65 and over | 45-64 | 65 and over | 45-64 | 65 and over | 45-64 | 65 and over |
| | Hours per day | | | | | | | |
| Personal care | 11.0 | 11.6 | 11.0 | 11.7 | 10.4 | 11.7 | 11.2 | 12.0 |
| Unpaid work | 4.2 | 3.9 | 5.7 | 5.1 | 4.4 | 3.6 | 4.7 | 3.7 |
| Free time | 8.6 | 8.3 | 7.2 | 7.2 | 8.8 | 8.6 | 7.7 | 8.3 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

more than 50% of boomer women replied affirmatively, suggesting external time pressures were also a factor.

Also of note was the high proportion of unattached senior women, living in extended families, who concurred with specific time-stress questions, more particularly, to questions relating to having control over their time. Nearly one-third felt *"trapped in a daily routine"* and *"constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than they could handle."* Nearly twice as many of these senior women (19%), as other seniors (8%), felt *"they didn't have time for fun anymore."* (Table 4.6)

Table 4.6
Responses to questions on perception of time by seniors aged 65 and over

| | Males | | Females | | |
|--|----------------------------|------------------------|---------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Married | Unmarried living alone | Married | Unmarried living alone | Unmarried living with others |
| | % responding affirmatively | | | | |
| 1. Do you plan to slow down in the coming year? | 13 | 11 | 17 | 13 | 16 |
| 2. Do you consider yourself a workaholic? | 12 | 14 | 15 | 12 | 15 |
| 3. When you need more time, do you tend to cut back on your sleep? | 13 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 10 |
| 4. At the end of the day, do you often feel that you have not accomplished what you had set out to do? | 28 | 32 | 44 | 34 | 39 |
| 5. Do you worry that you don't spend enough time with your family or friends? | 6 | 8 | 12 | 10 | 14 |
| 6. Do you feel that you're constantly under stress trying to accomplish more than you can handle? | 13 | 7 | 17 | 15 | 30 |
| 7. Do you feel trapped in a daily routine? | 14 | 13 | 22 | 19 | 32 |
| 8. Do you feel that you just don't have time for fun anymore? | 7 | 6 | 9 | 7 | 19 |
| 9. Do you often feel under stress when you don't have enough time? | 10 | 6 | 18 | 13 | 12 |
| 10. Would you like to spend more time alone? | 6 | 2 | 9 | 2 | 3 |

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Further work is required to determine the issues underlying their sense of not having control over their lives, of feeling trapped, with no time for fun. Were these senior women expected to do more of the home chores than they felt capable of handling? Did the feelings stem from unfounded guilt about imposing themselves on their children's lives?

Discussion

"Data on seniors' household and families are particularly important in connection with issues of major concern to the elderly: housing, assistance with activities of daily living, access to health care, income and loneliness."⁴

Discussions of seniors invariably assume the North American myth, aging is viewed as problematic rather than an opportunity for new growth and development. As this chapter has illustrated, most seniors lead active, healthy lives. There is a relatively small subset of seniors who need familial and/or public support. G. Dooghe, reporting on social aspects of aging for the United Nations, notes these are the "elderly" seniors, the widowed and divorced elderly, the childless elderly, the elderly who live alone, the infirm and disabled elderly, the elderly with low pensions and the elderly who have recently moved.⁵ However, as the number of seniors needing help rises, so will the majority of able seniors who can provide this support.

Charles Longine Jr.⁶ suggests the story of the demographic imperative (the ominous voice of demographers warning about the "looming plague of seniors") ignores generational effects. He explains "several factors will work to reduce disability among the elderly, including improved health, new forms of service delivery and improved technology." Longine suggests that baby boomers, who popularized healthy lifestyles, may have lower rates of long-term disability in old age and that, indeed, rates are already falling in the United States. The elderly are increasingly living independently and are more likely to use paid services or new technology to meet their needs rather than relying on family, friends or government services. He notes the sharp increase in assistive devices and housing modifications: electric wheelchairs, telephone aids, voice-activated lighting and temperature controls and bio-medical devices to replace legs, arms, toes and fingers. As well, reliance on government financial aid may not be as big a problem, as virtually all aging baby boom women have worked outside the home. However, a bigger problem will exist for women than men as many women hold non-standard jobs (part-time and temporary work) in order to cope with family and household responsibilities.

This chapter has shown that seniors have a somewhat slower pace of life. They are less rushed, less stressed. However, we have seen that despite the much higher rates of long-term disability seniors remain active and involved. Daily activity patterns are not radically altered with the onset of the third age.

⁴J.A. Norland, *Focus on Canada, Profile of Canada's Seniors*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 96-312E, 1994, p. 31.

⁵G. Dooghe, "Social Aspects of Aging," *Social Aspects and Country Reviews of Population Aging*, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, United Nations Population Fund, *Economic Studies*, No. 6, 1994, p. 35.

⁶Charles F. Longine Jr., "Myths of An Aging America," *American Demographics*, August 1994, pp 36-44.

CHAPTER 5

A SNAPSHOT OVER THE LIFE CYCLE

This chapter provides a snapshot of the main activities of Canadian men and women at various stages over the life cycle. It provides a means of comparing the activities of men and women at a point in time. The focus is on the impact of sentinel events such as employment, marriage, children and retirement. The tensions inherent at various stages are also explored. The different stages over a typical life cycle, drawn from the previously defined role groups (as a youth — in high school, at postsecondary school, the first full-time job; as an employed baby boomer — unmarried, married and with children; as a mid-ager — employed, followed by retirement; and lastly, as a retired senior — married and subsequently living alone) are profiled. For the sake of simplification, lone parents, part-time and non-employed groups are not included in the life cycle analysis. These influences have been examined in greater detail in previous chapters.

It is important to note that the data are drawn from cross-sectional data and the pattern may not represent the change of any one cohort over a life cycle. In fact, many life events may be affected by the period in which the respondent was born. Different characteristics, for example, education, income, work history, social attitudes, etc., will affect behaviour over the life cycle. We can expect a woman born in the 1970s to have a much different life history than a woman born in the 1930s, and both will be different from women born in the 1950s.

Daily activities are divided into four principal categories: **personal care** (sleeping, eating, washing and dressing); **paid work** and **related activities** (work for pay, commuting, etc.); **unpaid work** (household chores, family care, shopping and volunteer work); and **leisure time** (socializing, passive and active).

Personal care

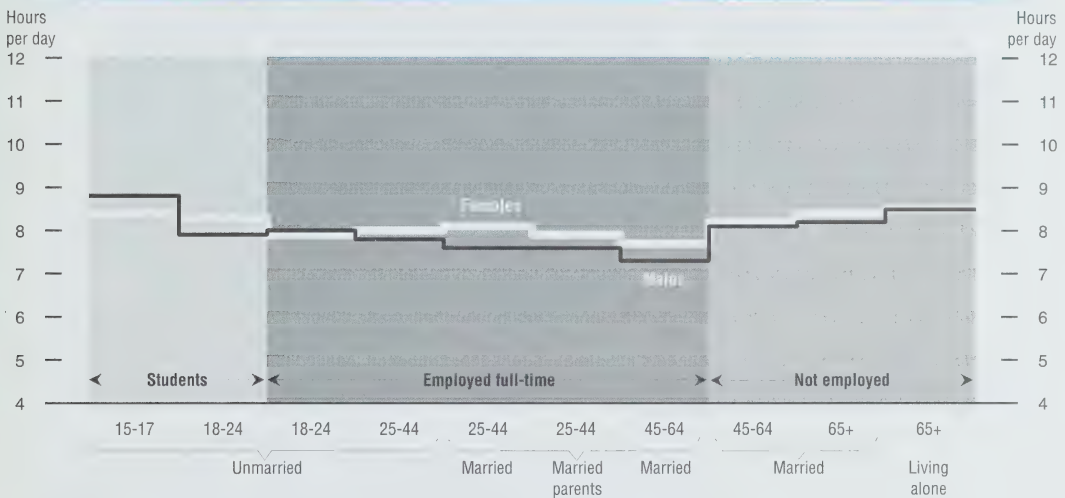
Personal care includes time spent sleeping, washing, dressing and eating. Individuals need to allocate a core part (about 40%) of their daily activities to meeting these basic biological needs. The most important of these, sleep, consumes about 8.0 hours a day, meals take about 1.0 hours and other personal maintenance an additional hour.

Sleep

On average, about one-third of the day is spent sleeping. Students and the non-employed, older populations spend more time sleeping than other individuals. People employed full-time got the least amount of sleep. Balancing the demands of job and family may necessitate cutting back on sleep and leave many employed workers sleep deprived. Time spent sleeping was higher among the non-employed population. Women appear to need more sleep than men over the life cycle, especially during the prime child-bearing years. (Chart 5.1)

Chart 5.1

Average time spent on sleep by selected population cohorts aged 15 and over



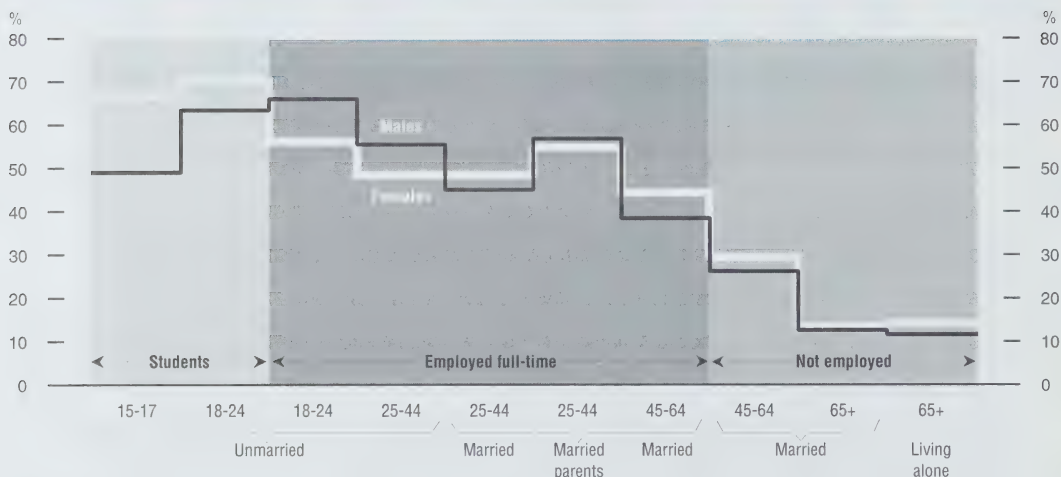
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Cutting back on sleep

Not unexpectedly, given their lifestyle and the pressures of essays and exams, postsecondary students were the most likely population (about 65%) to cut back on their sleep when they needed more time. These young people, however, found the time to compensate for late nights as they averaged more time sleeping than the full-time employed population. A downward trend in cutting back on sleep is apparent as Canadians move through the life cycle. The decline is interrupted by the advent of children, nearly 60% of parents reported they cut back on their sleep when they needed more time. (Chart 5.2)

Chart 5.2

Percentage of selected population cohorts aged 15 and over who cut back on their sleep



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Total work¹

Total work increased with increasing role responsibilities. Total work peaked for full-time employed, boomer parents at 10.3 hours a day for mothers and 9.9 hours for fathers. Boomer fathers also carry a heavy workload. Among boomers, the difference in total work between men and women was small. (Chart 5.3)

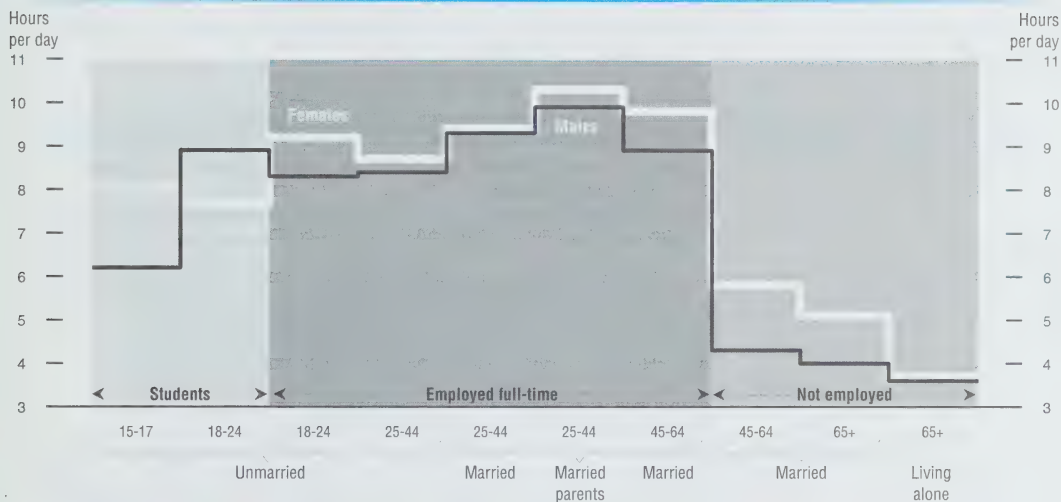
Not enough time

Total work, itself, however, does not account for often feeling under stress from lack of time. While Canadian men and women reported roughly equivalent amounts of total work especially during the boomer years, higher proportions of women were often stressed from lack of time than men over much of the life cycle. High proportions of both postsecondary men and women reported they were often stressed from lack of time. However, the proportion of men declined fairly steadily from that peak. With the added responsibility for household chores and family care, a higher proportion of women reported they often felt under stress when they did not have enough time over much of the life cycle. Nearly 70% of full-time employed, baby boom mothers reported they often felt under stress when they did not have enough time. Expectedly, the proportion of men and women who often felt stressed due to lack of time fell dramatically when their days were no longer dictated by the demands of paid labour. (Chart 5.4)

¹See Appendix A for discussion of the criterion and limitations of total work activities.

Chart 5.3

Average time spent on total work activities¹ by selected population cohorts aged 15 and over

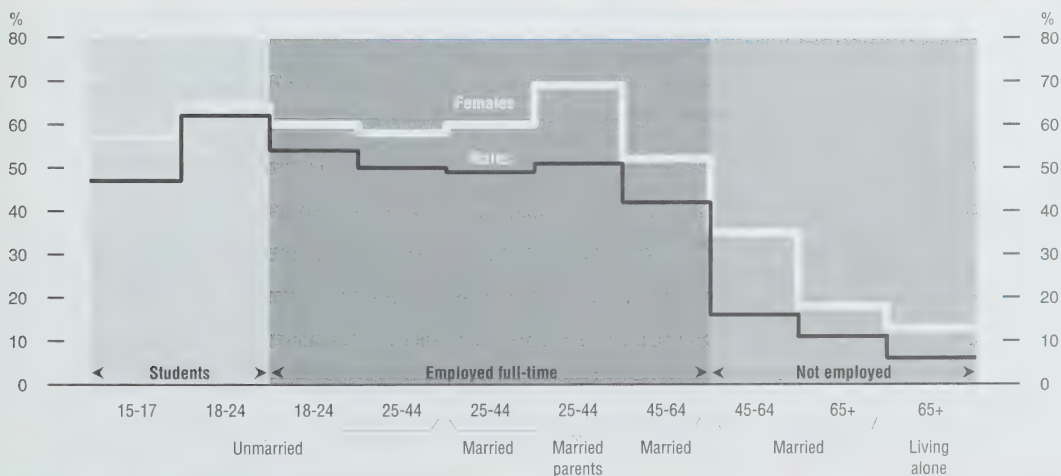


¹Includes time spent on paid and unpaid work, and educational activities.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 5.4

Percentage of selected population cohorts aged 15 and over who often felt under stress when they did not have enough time



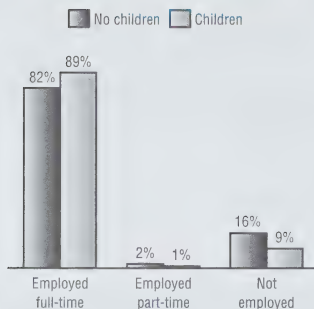
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

The effect of children

The necessarily simplified life cycle charts do not reflect the real impact of children on parents. Families often make economic sacrifices by having one spouse work full-time in the home. The effect of children on the labour force status of boomer men and women is startlingly different. With the presence of children, men increased their full-time participation in the labour force (from 82% to 89%), while the proportion of women participating full-time dropped from 71% for women without children to 45% for mothers. Thirty-seven percent of married mothers were not employed, compared with just 9% of married fathers. (Charts 5.5 and 5.6)

Chart 5.5

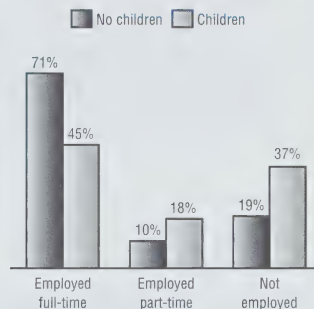
Labour force status of male baby boomers aged 25-44, by presence of children



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Chart 5.6

Labour force status of female baby boomers aged 25-44, by presence of children



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Not unexpectedly, full-time employed mothers with younger children did more unpaid work than similar mothers of older children. The time use diary allows us to quantify these differences. Mothers whose youngest child was less than 6 years of age did 5.6 hours a day, compared with 4.9 hours a day for mothers whose youngest child was aged 6 to 10. Unpaid work fell to 4.2 hours a day when the youngest child was aged 11 to 14, and to 3.3 hours for mothers whose youngest child was older, aged 15 to 18. The time spent on unpaid work fell by 2.3 hours a day with older children.

If gender equality prevailed, men and women would spend equal amounts of time at paid work and unpaid work. The difference in the hours spent on each provides a measure of the gender gap in these activities. The smallest gaps are evident between unmarried baby buster men and women aged 18 to 24, and married, full-time employed boomers aged 25 to 44, without children. The largest gaps are between boomer parents. Baby boom mothers are the ones who cut back or eliminated paid work and increased the time spent on unpaid work. We can only speculate about the future, when baby busters become parents. Will the greater equality they now share continue?

Paid work and related activities²

Women cope with their increasingly complex and often conflicting roles over the life cycle by limiting the time spent at paid work, even if they continue to work full-time. Young, unmarried women aged 18 to 24, unencumbered by heavy household and family commitments, spent the most time (7.3 hours a day or 51.1 hours per week) at paid work, while full-time employed, married mothers allocated the least amount of time (5.3 hours a day). In contrast, the amount of time full-time employed men spent at paid work (nearly 7.0 hours a day) varied little, whether they were married, unmarried or had children. Family status had virtually no effect on the hours full-time employed men spent at paid work. (Chart 5.7)

Chart 5.7

Average time spent on paid work and related activities¹ by the population aged 18-64 employed full-time, by family status



¹Related activities include commuting time and other activities related to paid work.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Unpaid work

Women spent more time on unpaid work at virtually all stages of the life cycle than men (about 1.0 hours a day). While the hours spent on unpaid work tended to increase for women over the life cycle, the time doubled when full-time employed, boomer women became mothers (4.8 hours a day) even though they remained employed full-time. The unpaid work of men also increased over the life cycle, peaking with the retired years. Fatherhood also bumped the hours spent on unpaid work of boomer men. Fathers spent 1.0 hours a day more than other full-time employed, married men. Despite the greater contribution of boomer fathers, the greatest difference in unpaid work was between boomer parents (1.7 hours a day). Children

²See Appendix B for list of inclusions in paid work and related activities.

tend to have an explosive effect on the amount of unpaid work. Not only is child care added to the unpaid work day, but more cooking and cleaning and laundry. (Chart 5.8)

Chart 5.8

Average time spent on unpaid work activities¹ by selected population cohorts aged 15 and over



¹Comprises households chores, family care, shopping and volunteer work.

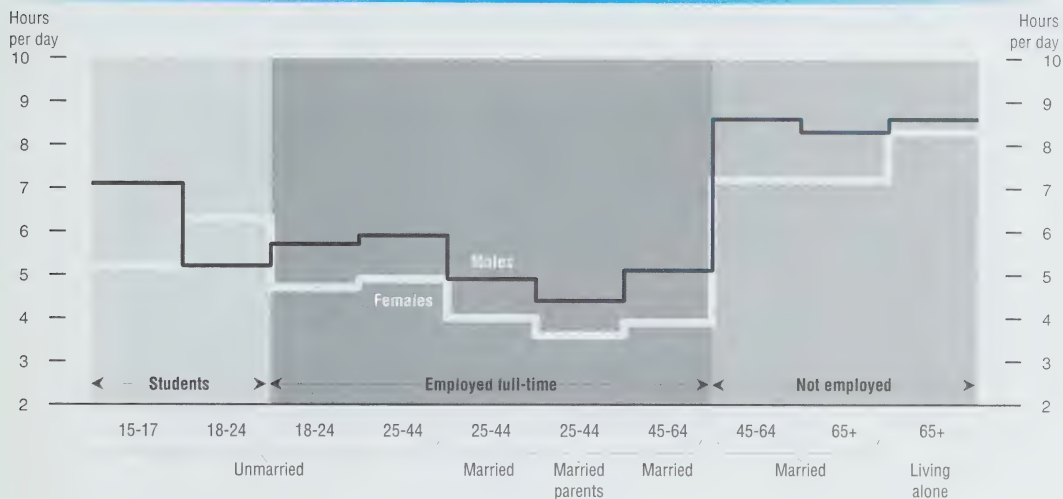
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Leisure time

Men consistently enjoyed more leisure time than similar women over each stage of the life cycle (about 1.0 hours a day) with the exception of postsecondary students aged 18 to 24. Older female students were the only female cohort that had more leisure time than their male counterparts (about 1.0 hours a day). The largest difference (about 2.0 hours a day) was between young students aged 15 to 17, the least (0.3 hours), between seniors living alone. Increased role complexity had a negative impact on leisure time over the life cycle for both men and women. Marriage brought a decline of 1.0 hours a day and children initiated a further drop of 0.5 hours a day. With the release from paid work and active parenting, seniors enjoyed almost double the amount of leisure time of full-time employed parents. However, the leisure gap of 1.0 hours a day persisted even among married seniors. As noted, only when senior men and women lived alone did leisure time approach similar levels. (Chart 5.9)

Chart 5.9

Average time spent on leisure activities by selected population cohorts aged 15 and over



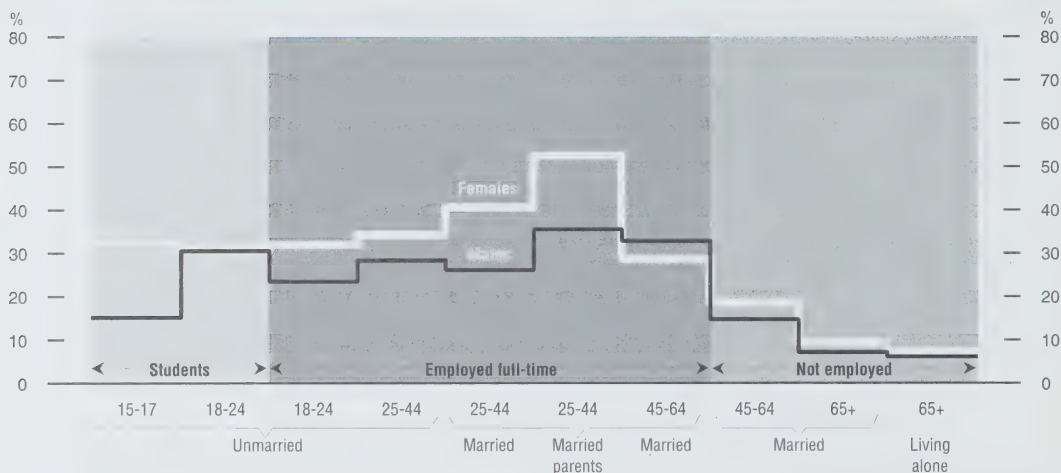
Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Time for fun

The proportion of men and women who reported not having time for fun any more is virtually a mirror image of the average time remaining for leisure for men and women over much of the life cycle. Reflecting the difference in leisure time, women were more likely than men to report they just did not have time for fun anymore over much of the life cycle. Boomer parents were the most likely group to agree. More than half of full-time employed mothers (53%) and more than one-third of boomer fathers (36%) reported their lives were too busy to have fun. We can only speculate on the long-term implications this has for family life. (Chart 5.10)

Chart 5.10

Percentage of selected population cohorts aged 15 and over
who felt they did not have time for fun anymore



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

More time alone

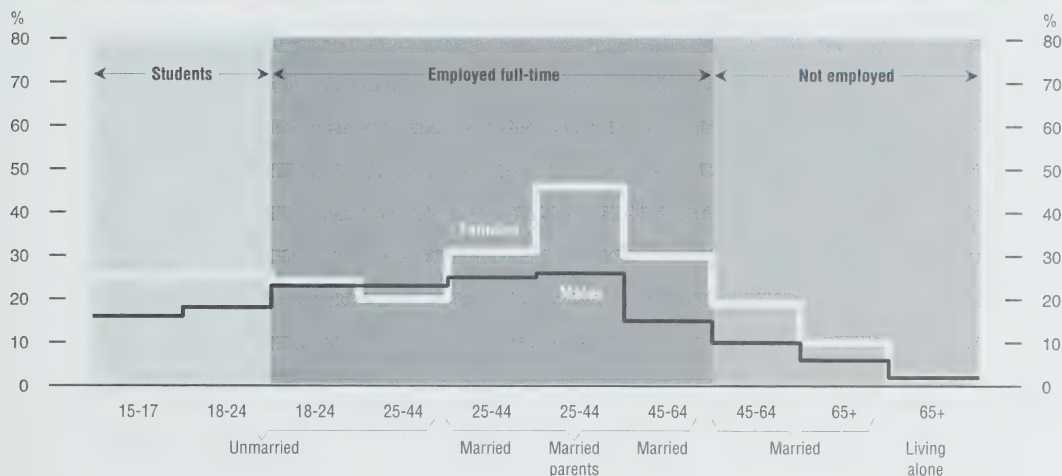
The lack of leisure time, or time for oneself, is magnified in response to the question "Would you like to spend more time alone?", especially for boomer mothers. Nearly 50% of full-time employed, boomer mothers reported they would like to spend more time alone. The proportion for men never rises much above 25%. Expectedly, the proportion falls dramatically for the non-employed, older population. (Chart 5.11)

Time crunch

The time crunch is a summary measure of the ten time crunch questions on the perception of time (see earlier chapters for complete listing). Individuals were categorized as heavily time crunched if they responded affirmatively to seven or more of the questions.

Chart 5.11

Percentage of selected population cohorts aged 15 and over who would like to spend more time alone



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

While a higher proportion of young women were time crunched than similar men, the proportion of highly time crunched Canadian women soared during the busy boomers years. Increased role complexity and conflict created by sentinel events (for example, adding marriage and children to full-time employment) intensified time stress for women. The proportion of highly time stressed women peaked at 32% for full-time employed women with children. In contrast, it appears that full-time employment creates the stress in men's lives. A similar proportion of adult males were highly stressed throughout their careers (about 17%) whether or not they were married or had children. Not unexpectedly, the proportion of highly stressed individuals dropped dramatically with retirement. About equal shares of senior men and women were time stressed. (Chart 5.12)

Chart 5.12

Percentage of selected population cohorts aged 15 and over who felt highly time crunched



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

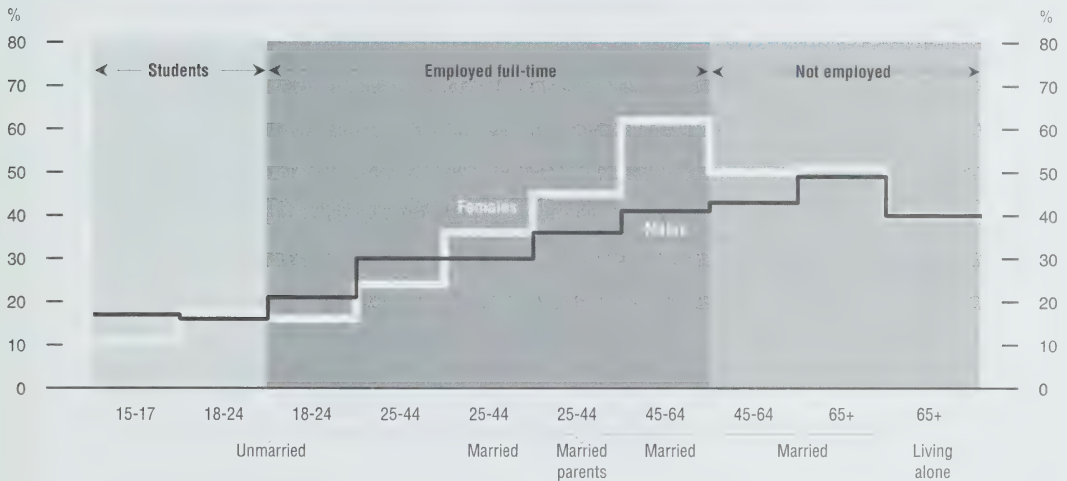
Having time on your hands

We seem to value time more highly as we grow older. Time seems to follow the basic law of supply and demand, the less time we have left, the more precious it becomes. While we might expect a greater share of men and women to report never having time on their hands as their lives became more complex (with jobs, marriage and children), we might also anticipate that without employment to structure our lives, having too much time might become problematic. This is evidently not true for most seniors. More than 40% reported they never had time on their hands they did not know what to do with. (Chart 5.13)

Nevertheless, some polarization was evident among seniors living alone. While 40% never had time on their hands, nearly 22% of senior men and about 13% of senior women had time on their hands every day. Most seniors are active and involved with family, friends and community, but the data reveal a small minority who might benefit from community assistance (see Chapter 4). In comparison, less than 5% of the younger population aged 15 to 64 found they had time on their hands every day.

Chart 5.13

Percentage of selected population cohorts aged 15 and over who felt they never had time on their hands



Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

Discussion

This chapter has documented the activities of selected stages over the life cycle for Canadians aged 15 and over in 1992. However, activities at each stage of the life cycle are changing dramatically, driven by rapid technological change, evolving social mores and the process of population aging.

As Peter Drucker notes,

"The twenty-first century will surely be one of continuing social, economic, and political turmoil and challenge, at least in its early decades."³

Youths should anticipate radically different life experiences from their parents and boomers a vastly different old age from their parents and grandparents.

³Peter Drucker, "The Age of Social Transformation," *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 1994, p. 80.

The shape of things to come

What changes can we expect in the near future? An eminent American economist, Robert Heilbroner, has offered a vision of the economic climate in the near future. He notes that recent new technology has habitually replaced low-productivity labour with high-productivity machines, and he expects this phenomenon to continue. This trend towards a jobless society has direct implications for the career paths of today's youth.

The once-linear life cycle of education, job and retirement is becoming a spiral, a reiterative cycle interspersed with periods of education, job and non-employment. No longer are students guaranteed a job upon completing a postsecondary degree. Many may have returned to school because of the bleak job market. Education and training are becoming a continuous commitment. About 20% of the employed population reported they attended courses or training sessions in the previous month. The proportion and duration of training are likely to rise in the near future as jobs become increasingly technical- and knowledge-based. On-the-job-training for specific tasks will become more common.

As Drucker notes,

"The newly emerging dominant group is "knowledge workers." ... They require a good deal of formal education and the ability to acquire and to apply theoretical and analytical knowledge. They require a different approach to work and a different mind-set. Above all, they require a habit of continuous learning."⁴

Women are expanding their participation in paid work, even when they have young children. The traditional roles of women (nurturer) and men (breadwinner) are no longer clearly defined. The majority of boomer women will be well-established in their careers as they enter middle adulthood, unlike the female mid-agers in 1992 who were more likely to have recently entered the job market after raising their family. Other mid-agers (primarily male) are taking early retirement but then returning to work on contract or starting new careers. In contrast, today's seniors are more likely to have ended their attachment to the formal market when they retired. Graham Lowe, a noted Canadian professor of sociology argues,

"The process of population aging, especially as the baby-boom generation grows older, will be accompanied by changes in how society defines work and retirement. Multiple careers, early retirement, gradual retirement, and post-retirement re-employment are also eroding the conventional practice of working until around age 65 and then abruptly entering the retirement phase of one's life."⁵

While this chapter has documented a static moment in the life cycle of Canadians aged 15 and over in 1992, clearly activities over the life cycle are dynamic and changing. The future of what we label today as "work" is uncertain. Eventually, indicators of economic performance and social well-being may have to take into account a concept that transcends "work" as we know it today.

⁴Ibid, p. 62.

⁵Graham S. Lowe, "Canadians and Retirement," *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada Catalogue 11-008E, Autumn 1992, p. 18.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS (listed alphabetically)

Activities

Activities (a complete list is found in Appendix B) are limited to measurable physical activities. Consequently, some unpaid work activities are not included in the estimates: emotional support, household and financial management, planning for special occasions, solving of problems, providing information.

All primary activities (the activity that was the main focus of attention) were collected, beginning at 4:00 a.m. and ending at 4:00 a.m. the next day, so the time for each respondent sums to 24 hours. The attempt to capture secondary activities (for instance, listening to the radio while doing household chores) proved to be too problematic during pretesting. If an individual reported cooking supper and caring for young children during the same time period, the main activity had to be specified. The time could be shared between the two activities, but double counting was not allowed. As a result, some activities (primarily child care) were undercounted. A child-care diary was collected to cope with this important issue.

Average time

Activities are averaged for a 24-hour day or a 7-day week. For activities like paid work which are normally considered over a 5-day period, a simple conversion will reconstruct activities to a 5-day average. Multiplying the daily average by seven to derive the weekly total and dividing by five will convert the 7-day average to a 5-day average. A paid work day of 5.7 hours [averaged over 7 days] will convert to an 8.0 hour day [averaged over 5 days].

Child(ren) of respondent

Never married children aged less than 19, who live at home.

Diary day

A diary day is a continuous 24-hour period commencing at 4:00 a.m. for which respondents reported their activities.

Free or leisure time

Free time comprises the residual of the 24-hour day, time that is not allocated to either paid work, unpaid work or personal care. It is time over which individuals have the most discretion. Leisure was classified into three components: **socializing** (homes, restaurants, bars, etc.) **passive leisure** (primarily at home: television, reading and listening to music) and **active leisure** (predominately out of home: attending and participating in entertainment/sports events).

Marital status

Married - includes married and cohabiting persons.

Unmarried - includes never married, divorced, separated and widowed.

Paid work and related activities

Paid work and related activities include all functions directed towards market activity including commuting to and from work. As the amount of time directed to paid market work limits the amount of time available for unpaid household work, all time associated with paid work has been included. It includes time spent at **paid work, commuting time and other activities related to paid work.**

GLOSSARY OF TERMS - Concluded (listed alphabetically)

Personal care

Personal care includes three main activities: **sleep** (night or essential sleep), **meals** (excluding meals and snacks at restaurants) and **other** personal care (washing, dressing, relaxing, naps). Respondents were asked who they were with for all activities except sleeping, washing and dressing.

Primary child care

The child-care estimate included in the 24-hour diary is limited to time spent on primary child care. It is not intended as a measure of the care and nurturing that children receive or that parents provide. Examples of primary child care, when the child was the principal focus of attention, are: dressing, feeding, bathing, reading or talking with children, helping with homework and medical care of children.

Stress

While some stress is useful, it can help in focussing and increasing efficiency, too much stress creates problems. A measure of time stress was created from the ten questions on the respondents' perception of time. These questions have been adapted from the work of John Robinson*. If respondents replied affirmatively to seven or more of the questions, they were classified as extremely time crunched; affirmatively to four to six questions, moderately time crunched; and not considered time crunched if they agreed with three or fewer questions.

Total work

Total work is an aggregate of both market and non-market activity. Total work is composed of three subgroups: **paid work** (includes activities related to employed work and commuting time), **unpaid work** (household chores, primary child care, shopping and volunteer work) and **educational activities**. It serves as a proxy for the total work burden. Caution is advised in using this variable.

Total work is a controversial concept and should be used with caution. Many time use experts argue that due to collection problems, paid work and unpaid work are incompatible concepts of work and should not be aggregated. The household management, emotional work and secondary child care are missing from unpaid work, creating an undermeasure. In contrast, all time spent at paid work is counted as work. Unlike unpaid work, coffee breaks and other activities such as socializing or down time are included. The total may be upwardly biased. Thus, a comparison of the "total work burden" between role groups will also be upwardly biased in favour of individuals who spend more time at paid work.

Unpaid work

Unpaid work includes all work directed toward non-market oriented activity. It comprises **household chores**, both inside (cooking, cleaning, laundry) and outside (shovelling snow, cutting the lawn, painting) the house. It also includes **family care** (child care, spousal care and elder care), **shopping** and **volunteer work**.

* John P. Robinson, "Your Money or Your Time," *American Demographics*, November 1991, p.25.

DAILY ACTIVITY CODES, 1992 TIME USE SURVEY

Twenty-four Code Activity System

A. Paid Work And Related Activities

1. Paid Work

- 011 Work for Pay at Main Job
- 012 Work for Pay at Other Job(s)
- 021 Overtime Work
- 023 Unpaid Work in a Family Business or Farm
- 030 Travel During Work
- 040 Waiting/Delays at Work
- 070 Coffee/Other Breaks
- 832 Hobbies Done For Sale or Exchange
- 842 Domestic Home Crafts Done For Sale or change
- 080 Other Work Activities

2. Activities Related to Paid Work

- 022 Looking for Work
- 060 Idle Time Before/After Work

3. Commuting

- 090 Travel: To/From Work

B. Household Work And Related Activities

4. Cooking/Washing Up

- 101 Meal Preparation
- 102 Baking, Preserving Food, Home Brewing, etc.
- 110 Food (or Meal) Cleanup

5. Housekeeping

- 120 Indoor Cleaning
- 130 Outdoor Cleaning
- 140 Laundry, Ironing, Folding
- 151 Mending/Shoe Care
- 152 Dressmaking and Sewing

6. Maintenance and Repair

- 161 Interior Maintenance and Repair
- 162 Exterior Maintenance and Repair
- 163 Vehicle Maintenance
- 164 Other Home Improvements

7. Other Household Work

- 171 Gardening/Grounds Maintenance
- 172 Pet Care
- 173 Care of House Plants
- 181 Household Administration, e.g. Paying Bills, Menu Planning, etc.
- 182 Stacking and Cutting Firewood
- 183 Other Household Work, n.e.s.
- 190 Travel: Domestic Work

8. Shopping for Goods and Services

- 301 Groceries
- 302 Clothing, Gas, etc.
- 303 Take-out Food
- 310 Shopping for Durable Household Goods
- 320 Personal Care Services (e.g. Haircut)
- 331 Financial Services (e.g. Banking)
- 332 Government Services (e.g. UIC)
- 340 Adult Medical and Dental Care
- 350 Other Professional Services
- 361 Automobile Maintenance and Repair
- 362 Other Repair Services (e.g. T.V., Appliances)

- 370 Waiting for Purchases or Services
- 380 Other Shopping and Services
- 390 Travel: Shopping for Goods and Services

9. Child Care

- 200 Baby Care - Household Child
- 210 Child Care - Household Child
- 220 Helping/Teaching/Reprimanding
- 230 Reading/Talking/Conversation with Child
- 240 Play with Children
- 250 Medical Care - Household Child
- 260 Unpaid Babysitting
- 281 Other Child Care
- 291 Travel: Transportation for Household Child

C. Social Support, Civic and Voluntary Activity

10. Civic and Voluntary Activity

- 800 Coaching
- 600 Professional, Union, General
- 610 Political, Civic Activity
- 620 Child, Youth, Family Organization
- 630 Religious Meetings, Organizations
- 651 Fraternal and Social Organizations (e.g. Lions' Club)
- 652 Support Groups (e.g. Al-Alon, AA)
- 660 Volunteer Work, (Organizations)
- 671 Housework and Cooking Assistance
- 672 House Maintenance and Repair Assistance
- 673 Unpaid Babysitting
- 674 Transportation Assistance
- 675 Care for Disabled or Ill
- 676 Correspondence Assistance
- 677 Unpaid Help for a Business or Farm
- 678 Other Unpaid Work
- 680 Other Civic and Voluntary Activity
- 271 Personal Care - Household Adults
- 272 Medical Care - Household Adults
- 282 Other Care for Household Adults
- 691 Travel: Civic & Voluntary Activity
- 692 Travel: Coaching
- 292 Travel: Transportation for Household Adults

D. Education and Related Activities

11. Education and Related Activities

- 500 Full-Time Classes
- 511 Other Classes (Part-Time)
- 512 Credit Courses on Television
- 520 Special Lectures: Occasional
- 530 Homework: Course, Career/Self-Development
- 550 Breaks/Waiting for Class
- 560 Leisure and Special Interest Classes
- 580 Other Study
- 590 Travel: Education and Related Activities

E. Sleep, Meals and Other Personal Activities

12. Night Sleep

- 450 Night Sleep/Essential Sleep

13. Meals (excl. Restaurant Meals)

- 050 Meals/Snacks at Work
- 540 Meals/Snacks/Coffee at School

DAILY ACTIVITY CODES, 1992 TIME USE SURVEY - Concluded

Twenty-four Code Activity System

- 430 Meals/Snacks/Coffee at Home
- 431 Other Meals/Snacks/Coffee (excl. Restaurants)

14. Other Personal Activities

- 400 Washing, Dressing
- 410 Personal Medical Care at Home
- 460 Incidental Sleep, Naps
- 470 Relaxing, Thinking, Resting
- 480 Other Personal Care or Private Activities
- 640 Religious Services/Prayer/Bible Readings
- 693 Travel: Religious Services

F. Socializing

15. Restaurant Meals

- 440 Restaurant Meals
- 490 Travel: Sleep, Meals and Other Personal Activities
- 791 Travel: Restaurant Meals

16. Socializing (In Homes)

- 751 Socializing at a Home (No Meal)
- 752 Socializing at a Home (w/Meal)
- 950 Talking, Conversation, Phone
- 792 Travel: Socializing (In Homes)

17. Other Socializing

- 760 Socializing at Bars, Clubs (No Meal)
- 753 Other Socializing (e.g. at Malls, Hospitals)
- 780 Other Social Gatherings (Weddings, Wakes)
- 793 Travel: Other Socializing

G. Television, Reading and Other Passive Leisure

18. Watching Television

- 911 Watching Television (Scheduled Programming)
- 912 Watching Television (Time-shifted Viewing)
- 913 Watching Rented or Purchased Movies
- 914 Other Television Viewing (Home Recorded Movies)

19. Reading Books, Magazines, Newspapers

- 931 Reading Books
- 932 Reading Magazines
- 940 Reading Newspapers

20. Other Passive Leisure

- 900 Listening to the Radio
- 920 Listening to CDs, Tapes, Records
- 961 Reading Mail
- 962 Other (Writing Letters)
- 980 Other Media or Communication
- 990 Travel: Television, Reading and Other Passive Leisure

H. Sports, Movies and Other Entertainment Events

21. Sports, Movies and Other Entertainment Events

- 701 Professional Sports Events
- 702 Amateur Sports Events
- 711 Pop Music, Concerts
- 712 Fairs
- 713 Zoos
- 720 Movies, Films
- 730 Opera, Ballet, Theatre

- 741 Museums
- 742 Art Galleries
- 743 Heritage Sites
- 790 Travel: Sports, Movies and Other Entertainment Events

I. Active Leisure

22. Active Sports

- 801 Football, Baseball, Hockey, etc.
- 802 Tennis, Squash, Racquetball, etc.
- 803 Golf, Miniature Golf
- 804 Swimming, Waterskiing
- 805 Skiing, Ice Skating, etc.
- 806 Bowling, Pool, etc.
- 807 Exercises, Yoga, Weight Lifting
- 808 Judo, Boxing, Wrestling, Fencing
- 809 Rowing, Canoeing, Kayaking and Sailing
- 810 Other Sports, e.g. Frisbee, Catch
- 811 Hunting
- 812 Fishing
- 813 Boating
- 814 Camping
- 815 Horseback Riding, Rodeos, Jumping, Dressage
- 816 Other Outdoor Activities - Excursions
- 821 Walking, Hiking
- 822 Biking

23. Other Active Leisure

- 831 Hobbies Done Mainly for Pleasure
- 841 Domestic Home Crafts Done Mainly for Pleasure
- 861 Games, Cards, Arcade
- 862 Video Games/Computer Games
- 863 General Computer Use (Not Games)
- 850 Music, Drama, Dance
- 871 Pleasure Drives as a Driver
- 872 Pleasure Drives as a Passenger (Car)
- 873 Other Pleasure Drives (e.g. Tour Bus)
- 880 Other Sport or Active Leisure
- 890 Travel: Active Leisure

J. Residual

24. Missing Time

- 001 Missing Time
- 002 Refusals

APPENDIX C

Average time spent¹ on various activities by population cohorts aged 15 and over, 1992

| Activity group | Males | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|
| | 15-17 ST_S | 18-24 ST_S | 18-24 FT_S | 25-44 FT_MP | 25-44 FT_M | 25-44 FT_S | 45-64 FT_M | 45-64 FT_S | 45-64 NE_M | 45-64 NE_S | 65 + NE_M | 65 + NE_S LNE |
| Hours per day ² | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Paid work and related activities | 0.6 | 1.5 | 6.9 | 6.6 | 7.1 | 6.9 | 6.8 | 6.7 | -- | 0.3 | 0.1 | -- |
| Paid work | 0.5 | 1.2 | 6.2 | 6.0 | 6.5 | 6.3 | 6.2 | 6.1 | -- | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- |
| Activities related to paid work | -- | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | 0.1 | -- | -- |
| Travel: to/from work | -- | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.5 | -- | 0.1 | -- | -- |
| 2. Household work and related activities | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 2.8 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 3.6 | 3.3 | 3.1 | 3.0 |
| Cooking/washing up | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.8 |
| House cleaning and laundry | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| Maintenance and repair | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.1 |
| Other household work | -- | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.7 |
| Shopping for goods and services | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 1.0 | 0.9 |
| Primary child care | -- | -- | -- | 0.9 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 3. Civic and voluntary activity | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| 4. Education and related activities | 4.8 | 6.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | -- | -- | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | -- |
| 5. Sleep, meals and other personal activities | 10.7 | 9.9 | 10.0 | 9.7 | 9.8 | 9.7 | 9.9 | 10.0 | 11.1 | 10.4 | 11.6 | 11.7 |
| Night sleep | 8.8 | 7.9 | 8.0 | 7.6 | 7.6 | 7.8 | 7.3 | 7.6 | 8.1 | 7.5 | 8.3 | 8.5 |
| Meals (excl. restaurant meals) | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.6 | 1.2 |
| Other personal activities | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2.0 |
| 6. Socializing | 1.9 | 1.8 | 2.4 | 1.3 | 1.7 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 2.5 | 1.7 | 2.5 |
| Restaurant meals | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| Socializing (in homes) | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.5 |
| Other socializing | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| 7. Television, reading and other passive leisure | 3.0 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 2.2 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 4.6 | 5.2 | 5.3 | 4.9 |
| Watching television | 2.6 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 2.0 | 3.6 | 4.1 | 3.8 | 3.2 |
| Reading books, magazines, newspapers | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.2 | 1.1 |
| Other passive leisure | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.6 |
| 8. Sports, movies and other entertainment event | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | -- | -- |
| 9. Active leisure | 2.1 | 1.3 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 1.8 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.2 |
| Active sports | 1.4 | 0.8 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| Other active leisure | 0.7 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 1.2 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| 10. Residual | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 0.1 | -- | -- |
| Total: work³ | 6.2 | 8.9 | 8.3 | 9.9 | 9.3 | 8.4 | 8.9 | 8.7 | 4.3 | 4.7 | 4.0 | 3.6 |
| Total: unpaid work | 0.8 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 3.2 | 2.0 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 3.9 | 3.6 |
| Total: free time | 7.1 | 5.2 | 5.7 | 4.4 | 4.9 | 5.9 | 5.1 | 5.2 | 8.6 | 8.8 | 8.3 | 8.6 |

Legend for population cohorts:

ST - student
LNE - living alone

S - unmarried
FT - full-time employed

M - married
NE - not employed

MP - married parent

¹Averaged over a 7-day week.

²Subtotals may not add to total due to rounding.

³Includes activity groups 1 to 4.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.

APPENDIX C

Average time spent¹ on various activities by population cohorts aged 15 and over, 1992

| Activity group | Females | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|--|
| | 15-17 ST_S | 18-24 ST_S | 18-24 FT_S | 25-44 FT_LP | 25-44 NE_LP | 25-44 FT_MP | 25-44 PT_MP | 25-44 NE_MP | 25-44 FT_M | 25-44 FT_S | 45-64 FT_M | 45-64 FT_S | 45-64 NE_M | 45-64 NE_S | 65 + NE_M | 65 + NE_S_LNE | 65 + NE_S_WTH | |
| | Hours per day ² | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Paid work and related activities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paid work | 0.9 | 1.0 | 7.3 | 5.2 | 0.1 | 5.3 | 2.5 | 0.1 | 6.8 | 5.9 | 6.4 | 5.4 | 0.1 | 0.2 | -- | -- | -- | |
| Activities related to paid work | 0.9 | 0.9 | 6.6 | 4.8 | 0.1 | 4.8 | 2.3 | 0.1 | 6.2 | 5.3 | 5.7 | 5.0 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | -- | -- | |
| Travel: to/from work | -- | -- | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 0.1 | -- | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | |
| 2. Household work and related activities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cooking/washing up | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 4.1 | 7.1 | 4.6 | 6.6 | 7.6 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 5.1 | 3.9 | 4.6 | 3.3 | 3.8 | |
| House cleaning and laundry | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 1.6 | 1.2 | 1.7 | 1.8 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 1.0 | 0.6 | 1.7 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 1.2 | |
| Maintenance and repair | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.9 | 1.0 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.4 | |
| Other household work | -- | 0.1 | -- | 0.2 | -- | -- | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | -- | -- | -- | |
| Shopping for goods and services | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 | |
| Primary child care | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.8 | |
| 3. Civic and voluntary activity | -- | 0.1 | -- | 1.0 | 2.5 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.3 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 0.1 | -- | -- | -- | |
| 4. Education and related activities | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 | |
| 5. Sleep, meals and other personal activities | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Night sleep | 5.8 | 4.8 | 0.2 | 0.1 | -- | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | -- | 0.3 | -- | -- | -- | |
| Meals (excl. restaurant meals) | 10.8 | 10.0 | 10.1 | 10.1 | 10.4 | 10.1 | 10.3 | 10.7 | 10.5 | 10.4 | 10.2 | 10.6 | 11.0 | 11.2 | 11.7 | 12.0 | 12.6 | |
| Other personal activities | 8.4 | 8.3 | 7.9 | 7.8 | 7.9 | 7.9 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 8.1 | 8.0 | 7.7 | 8.1 | 8.2 | 8.4 | 8.4 | 8.5 | 8.8 | |
| 6. Socializing | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.0 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.6 | |
| Restaurant meals | 1.2 | 0.9 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 2.2 | |
| Socializing (in homes) | 1.9 | 2.8 | 2.1 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 1.4 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 2.3 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 1.7 | |
| Other socializing | 0.3 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 | |
| 7. Television, reading and other passive leisure | 1.4 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.8 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 0.9 | 0.9 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 1.4 | |
| Watching television | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | |
| Reading books, magazines, newspapers | 2.2 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 1.8 | 2.7 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 1.9 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.7 | 3.2 | 3.6 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 4.7 | |
| Other passive leisure | 1.7 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 1.4 | 2.4 | 1.2 | 1.3 | 1.9 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 2.4 | 2.7 | 3.0 | 3.2 | 3.5 | |
| 8. Sports, movies and other entertainment events | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 1.1 | |
| 9. Active leisure | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | 0.1 | -- | -- | 0.1 | -- | 0.1 | -- | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 0.1 | |
| Active sports | 0.2 | 0.8 | 0.3 | -- | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | -- | -- | 0.2 | 0.1 | -- | 0.1 | -- | |
| Other active leisure | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 0.7 | 0.6 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 0.8 | |
| 10. Residual | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 | |
| Total: work ³ | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.4 | 0.5 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.5 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 0.7 | |
| Total: unpaid work | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | |
| Total: free time | 5.2 | 6.3 | 4.7 | 4.3 | 5.9 | 3.6 | 4.0 | 5.1 | 4.0 | 4.9 | 3.9 | 4.9 | 7.2 | 7.7 | 7.2 | 8.3 | 7.2 | |
| Legend for population cohorts: | ST - student LNE - living alone | S - unmarried WTH - living with others | M - married FT - full-time employed | MP - married parent PT - part-time employed | LP - lone parent NE - not employed | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Legend for population cohorts:

ST - student
LNE - living alone

S - unmarried
WTH - living with others

M - married
FT - full-time employed

MP - married parent
PT - part-time employed

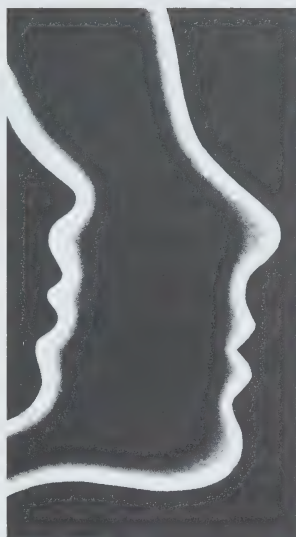
LP - lone parent
NE - not employed

¹Averaged over a 7-day week.

²Subtotals may not add to total due to rounding.

³Includes activity groups 1 to 4.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey, 1992.



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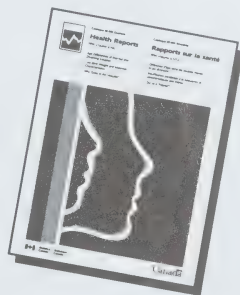
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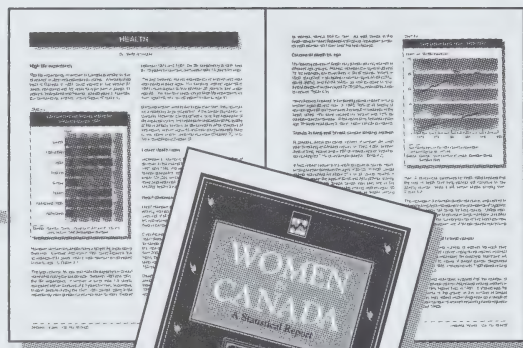


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